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The Forum

EDITED BY J. M. RICE

MARCH, 1898

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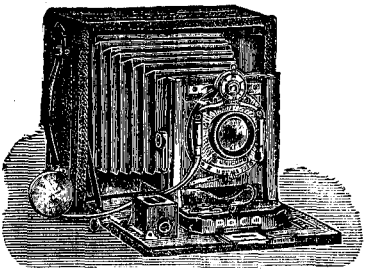

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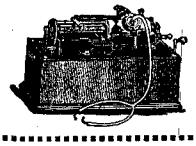

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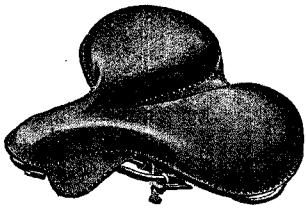

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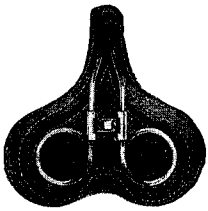

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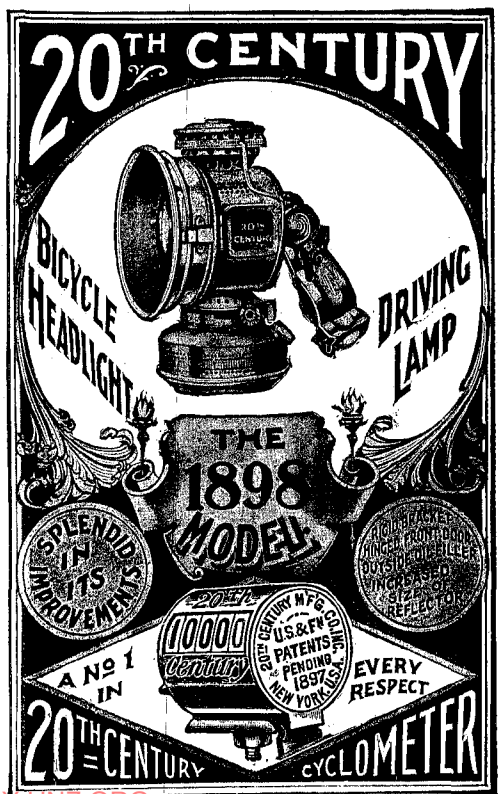
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The Forum

MARCH, 1898.

SHOULD THE UNITED STATES PRODUCE ITS SUGAR?

EFFORTS are being made in the United States to extend the growth of sugar-producing plants by ascertaining—through scientifically conducted research at State experiment stations, and by private enterprise, under the direction of the Federal and the State governments—where such plants will flourish best, to the end that we may as a nation become independent of other countries in this regard, add another crop to farm systems of rotation, give work to professionals, artisans, and laborers, and distribute among our own people the immense sum of money that is now sent abroad to pay for sweetening materials. This preliminary work, as regards sugar-beets and sorghum, has already been inaugurated in several of our States; it is now being done in a large portion of the country by the Department of Agriculture; and the experimentation will be continued until a belt is established across the continent determining where conditions are most favorable, where capital may be most safely invested, where skill may be most certainly remunerated, and where labor may receive its best reward.

While men of forethought and decision are carrying these investigations forward with the hearty coöperation of our farmers, and with decided promise of success presented by results already attained, the question is raised by a few contributors to magazines and other periodicals, whether it is a wise policy for the people of the United States to produce their own sugar.

In too many localities we are devoting our energies to one staple crop. It is high time to look around for other farm products suitable

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to our conditions of soil and climate. Too much cotton in the south, too much maize in the Mississippi valley, too many hogs in the corn belt, too many saddle- or road-horses on the ranch, suggest the necessity of diversification in production, in order that the farmer may receive better returns for his time and capital invested. During the fiscal years 1893–1897 the average annual amount paid by the United States for imported sugar was $101,575,293, a sum sufficiently large to justify inquiry into the possibilities of home production.

Some attempts have been made to encourage home production by Federal and State bounties and by protective duties; but none of these inducements has been systematic or continuous, owing to the changes in public policies that took place before extensive arrangements could be made for comprehensive work. The production of sugar from all sources in the United States during 1897 amounted to 335,656 long tons, as follows: 41,347 tons from sugar-beets; 289,009 tons from ribbon-cane; 5,000 tons from maple-trees; and 300 tons from sorghum-cane. The refined product from imported sugar during the year mentioned was 1,760,607 tons; making a total consumption of 2,096,263 tons.

This subject should be discussed from the standpoint of the farmer rather than from that of the political economist. The farmers of our country produce from the soil grains, cotton, tobacco, vegetables, fruits, horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, various animal products, and the like; and if we can add to our farm systems any crop that yields an article of common use, is not exhaustive of plant-food, and whose by-product is valuable in making meat and dairy products, it will find favor with producers. There are very few crops, or manufactures of them, of which this can be said so emphatically as it can be said of sugar-beets. The grains are well-known soil-robbers. They carry from the soil nitrogen, potash, phosphoric acid, lime, magnesia, and the other elements of plant-food. Tobacco is peculiarly severe in this regard because none of its by-products are fit for animal food; and what is sold from the farm carries away so much mineral plant-food that most soils are soon exhausted if not replenished by commercial fertilizers, the purchase of which is out of the question in many parts of the United States. Meats take away comparatively little plant-food from the soil compared with their money value. The cotton-plant is not exhaustive if the stalks are plowed under and the seed is returned to the soil, either directly or through the instrumentality of domestic animals. The oil of the cotton-seed may be sold without taking any plant-food

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from the farm, as it comes from the atmosphere through the leaves of the plant. Butter is also harmless in this respect, and does not impoverish the land on which the cow grazes. Sugar is as harmless as oil and butter: it comes from the carbonic dioxide of the atmosphere. If the sugar-beet is hauled to the factory and the pulp taken back to the farm, no plant-food is lost to the soil.

The writer grew beets by the acre for stock feed from 1891 to 1896 at the Iowa Agricultural College, and found the enterprise profitable for that purpose alone. All domestic animals are benefited by daily rations of roots in winter when they have no access to pasture: the young animal, the breeding animal, and the fattening animal alike find them grateful. After the sugar is extracted, the pulp contains all the plant-food furnished by the soil, and is substantially as valuable as a fodder for domestic animals as the beet is before the sugar is extracted. The fodders of our rations are nearly all too carbonaceous, and require mixtures of nitrogenous by-products to make them suitable for animal growth or milk production. Here, then, we have a plant that, aside from the sugar it contains, makes a valuable food for our domestic animals, and is capable of successful cultivation in many of our States. It fits into our farm systems conveniently because its planting season is earlier and its harvest time later than that of corn, and not only serves a double purpose as an animal nutrient, but holds out the liveliest hopes that its adoption will keep at home one hundred million dollars through the value of its sugar content alone.

Mr. Edwin F. Atkins, in THE FORUM for November,[1] asks, "If within a few years this country should supply its own demands for sugar, what would become of the $50,000,000 revenue? How could it be made up?" I think this feature need not alarm us. We have already had experience along this line. Many articles are now produced in the United States that not long ago were imported, and on which duties were collected that are now levied and collected on other imports. Besides, if the sum of $100,000,000, now sent abroad for sugar, were divided among our farmers, laborers, and capitalists, the country could more easily find $50,000,000 for revenue to be expended at home, even if it were all raised from internal sources.

In the course of his article, Mr. Atkins calls attention to the efforts of countries in Continental Europe to stimulate the production of sugar from beets by giving export bounties, and says: "With the experience of European countries in artificially fostering an industry to a point

[1] "Our proposed New Sugar Industry."—THE FORUM, November, 1897 (p. 313).

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beyond the natural law of supply and demand, is it wise for us to enter upon a similar policy?" We are not entering upon a similar policy. We are pursuing a time-honored American policy in fostering an industry that promises to give the people of the United States $100,000,000 for the saccharine matter of a root crop that can be profitably grown on most farms having domestic animals; and the duties levied by the Dingley Tariff Bill assure investors during the building of their factories against the competition of foreign sugars stimulated by export bounties. The United States never goes the length of giving export bounties; although internal-revenue duties are sometimes rebated when goods subject to them are reëxported. The political differences of our people I do not care to discuss, but merely venture to say that it seems a patriotic policy to favor the making and growing of such things in the United States as our people use in every-day life.

The production of sugar in the countries from which we import this article has been unnaturally stimulated in many instances by export bounties, or by free entry into the United States when duties were levied upon sugars from other countries; but the countries of Continental Europe from which we import are now contemplating the abolition of their export bounties, because we add to our tariff rates the export bounties they grant.

In the northern States sugar-beets will be grown in connection with the dairy. The cow will manufacture the pulp into high-selling products in demand throughout the world. It has been demonstrated by the Department of Agriculture, by shipping direct to London, that our butter is the finest in the world. Our production will greatly increase, because we can make dairy products more cheaply than other countries—especially tropical or sub-tropical ones—that do not successfully grow pasture grasses. For this reason there will be profitable markets for much more butter and cheese than we now make. We have been selling cheap grains and mill-feeds to European countries that supply the British markets with dairy products. The multiplication of creameries in our country will naturally encourage sugar-beet-growing, because this plant is valuable as a nutrient for the dairy cow independently of its sugar; and when it is generally known that the sugar content has four or five times the value of the beet as a nutrient, and that the nutritious elements of the plant are not seriously affected by its extraction, the dairyman will not hesitate to realize from both these sources of profit.

Swine are healthier in the dairy sections of our country than in the

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beef-making sections. This has been fairly demonstrated by a census taken in the state of Iowa where these industries are found. It is well known that the high-selling bacon of commerce is made in connection with dairying, where the nitrogenous by-products form a considerable per cent of the ration, and that the lard hog is the product of the corn belts of the country. This gives us the relation of these products to each other. The sugar-beet is a necessity to the dairy cow, which must have a succulent ration, as her milk is 87 per cent water. The hog also thrives best and makes the highest selling product in connection with the dairy. The one hundred pounds of water that the dairy cow requires daily is best supplied in roots. The same nutrients found in other plants, given with one hundred pounds of water, do not show as good results as are obtained by feeding a root that contains a large per cent of water.

The sugar-beet, then, has a place waiting for it in our systems of farm management. Its volatile acid is not injurious to butter flavor, as is that of turnips, potatoes, and cabbage. It has been tried at our experiment stations and pronounced beneficial in every way. Under proper temperature conditions it keeps long in winter, and is therefore suited to latitudes as far north as sufficient heat is found to ripen it. The making of the 41,347 tons of beet-sugar in 1897 in California, Utah, Nebraska, New Mexico, and New York, under widely different climates, and from soils of greatly varying composition, in regions of rainfall, as well as under irrigated conditions, proves that the plant has an extensive range. The experimentation made by the Department of Agriculture during the past year indicates that we have many States where the per cent of sugar in the beet is quite high. Twelve per cent of sugar is considered profitable; and reports from many States show a much higher average. Fuel, limestone, and suitable water are found conveniently near at hand in most of our States. In most instances, beets will be grown in the United States in rotation with the grasses, legumes, and grains. These store the soil with humus after it is reduced by cultivation, replace the nitrogen, fill the soil with roots that enable it to retain moisture, and give time to make mineral plant-food available. Under such conditions, our farmers can grow beets once in every four to six years, perpetually, without reducing soil fertility, if nothing is sold off the farm but sugar and butter. The fibre of the cotton-plant of the south, and meats from the grazing sections of the north would not reduce the soils of either region perceptibly.

The sorghum-cane promises well for sections of our country where

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beets do not thrive. The Department of Agriculture and Directors of Experiment Stations have been developing the sugar content of this plant for some years, until it now averages 14 per cent of sugar in the juice, which is 90 per cent of the stalk. The cotton-growing States require a carbonaceous plant to feed with their cotton-seed cake. Several of these States produced sufficient nitrogenous matter from cotton-seed in 1897 to have finished all the 390,000 fat cattle exported to foreign countries in that year. The sorghum-cane, which is admirably adapted to this purpose without extracting the sugar, is also about as well adapted after the sugar is extracted. This plant is now extensively grown in our southwestern and some of our eastern States, where the rainfall is not sufficient to grow maize. It would seem to be a plain duty to experiment with this high-heredity sorghum-seed, simultaneously with beets, to ascertain where each will be most profitable; and during the coming season this will be done. The factories now in successful operation in the United States have had machinery in the field and factory imported from foreign countries. American ingenuity, however, has been at work, and has replaced every feature with machinery of our own manufacture that does the work more expeditiously and economically.

In the dry localities of the west, where the rainfall is not always sufficient to insure a maize crop, the sugar-beet and sorghum-cane make profitable crops and are giving greatly increased value to the land. Hail storms that utterly destroy all other crops have the effect of cutting off only the leaves of the sugar beet, which promptly grow out again.

Figures were given in the November FORUM to show that we export much more merchandise to the cane-sugar producing countries than we import from them, and that they would be involved in utter ruin should we produce our own sugar. The showing was not full and complete. On the next page is a table (No. 1) showing the value of merchandise other than sugar imported into the United States from cane-producing countries during the fiscal year 1896, as compared with the total value of our domestic exports to those countries.

From the statistics presented in this table, it is apparent that our imports of sugar from cane-producing countries could be wholly discontinued and still leave a trade balance in favor of these countries of more than $60,000,000. After excluding sugar, our imports from these countries are twice as large as the exports we send in return.

The United States is certainly favoring these countries excessively

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in the way of trade. If the addition of another crop to our farm systems withdraws from them the money we now pay for sugar, the balance of trade will still be heavily in their favor. Moreover, it is not to be expected that our farmers will take this into very serious consideration, regarding their right to raise what is most profitable to them as naturally inherent; and if they should be pressed at any time for fraternal reasons, they would probably remember what Paul the Apostle said regarding the duty of providing for one's own household.

TABLE No. 1.

Countries from which Imported.	Total Imports from.	Sugar Imports from.	Other Imports from.	Total Exports to.
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
Cuba	40,017,730	24,102,835	15,914,895	7,312,348
Dutch East Indies	14,854,026	11,388,487	3,465,539	1,576,316
Hawaii	11,757,704	11,336,796	420,908	3,928,187
British West Indies	10,800,618	4,700,527	6,100,091	8,566,965
Brazil	71,060,046	3,776,486	67,283,560	14,222,934
British Guiana	3,418,578	3,414,368	4,210	1,719,705
Egypt	8,043,797	2,657,425	5,386,372	215,540
Santo Domingo	2,895,069	2,459,302	435,767	1,019,242
Philippine Islands	4,982,857	2,270,902	2,711,955	162,341
Puerto Rico	2,296,653	1,707,308	589,345	2,080,400
China	22,023,004	920,301	21,102,703	6,921,136
British Africa	1,732,147	461,054	1,271,093	11,288,909
Hong Kong	1,419,124	353,610	1,065,514	4,681,380
Dutch Guiana	957,247	289,243	668,004	360,282
Danish West Indies	310,339	261,728	48,611	535,974
Total	196,568,939	70,100,372	126,468,567	64,591,659

Table No. 2 (p. 8) shows the value of sugar imported into the United States during the fiscal year 1896 from the several countries of supply as compared with the value of all merchandise imported from each of these countries.

By the figures given it will be seen that our total imports of sugar from the various countries of supply amounted to only about 11 per cent of our total imports of all kinds of merchandise from the same countries.

Here is the list of countries from which we import sugar. The first four send us about two-thirds of the whole. Cuba's sugar trade is at present very largely suspended; Germany is stopping our trade; the Dutch East Indies will hardly expect us to take care of them; and Hawaii has, and will probably continue to have, free entry. The table shows how very little business we do with many of the countries that send us sugar. They consist largely of British and Spanish possessions that grew sugar-cane profitably when human slavery was the condition

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that favored the industry. Take the list, and ask American farmers what particular countries they feel in all good conscience bound to sustain by refraining from growing sugar-beets; and the answer will be a complete negation, prompt and emphatic.

TABLE NO. 2.

Countries from which Imported.	Total Imports.	Imports of Sugar.	
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*	*Per cent of Total Imports.*
Cuba	40,017,730	24,102,835	60.23
Germany	94,240,833	12,528,755	13.29
Dutch East Indies	14,854,026	11,388,487	76.67
Hawaii	11,757,704	11,336,796	96.42
British West Indies	10,800,618	4,700,527	43.52
Brazil	71,060,046	3,776,486	5.31
British Guiana	3,418,578	3,414,368	99.88
Egypt	8,043,797	2,657,425	33.04
Santo Domingo	2,895,069	2,459,302	84.95
Philippine Islands	4,982,857	2,270,902	45.57
Belgium	13,776,014	1,771,980	12.86
Puerto Rico	2,296,653	1,707,308	74.34
United Kingdom	169,963,434	1,402,694	.83
Netherlands	13,295,767	1,182,605	8.89
Austria-Hungary	7,644,154	958,402	12.54
China	22,023,004	920,301	4.18
France	66,266,967	859,359	1.30
British Africa	1,732,147	461,054	26.62
Hong Kong	1,419,124	353,610	24.92
Dutch Guiana	957,247	289,243	30.22
Danish West Indies	310,339	261,728	84.34
Canada	40,887,565	92,692	.22
Other countries	177,081,001	322,914	.18
Total	779,724,674	89,219,773	11.44
Total imports of molasses		737,265	.10
Total imports of sugar and molasses		89,957,038	11.54

Table No. 3 (p. 9) gives the principal agricultural exports sent from the United States during 1896 (fiscal year) to the countries of Europe that supply us with sugar, and also shows what we sell and where we sell most heavily.

Several of the European countries mentioned in the table threaten to exclude our farm products from their markets. From each of these countries we buy sugar. The home production of this article will make us independent to the extent of its value. We have been producing raw materials for the nations of the world. The grain we sell to them is turned into horses, cattle, meats, poultry, and dairy products that compete with our own products of like nature in the world's

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TABLE No. 3.

COUNTRIES TO WHICH EXPORTED.	DOMESTIC EXPORTS.							
	Total.	Breadstuffs.	Provisions.	Cotton.	Cotton-seed Oil.	Oil-cake and Oil-cake Meal.	Tobacco.	Hides and Skins.
	Dollars.	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*	*Dollars.*
Germany	96,364,368	7,333,640	12,052,676	41,759,576	271,152	1,939,558	3,034,342	1,074,268
Belgium	26,391,925	4,793,161	5,033,599	3,539,012	124,408	1,206,719	2,216,921	178,526
United Kingdom	401,145,205	81,709,991	83,563,561	93,050,467	631,172	3,506,715	8,365,289	277,197
Netherlands	38,092,901	6,907,797	8,681,417	556,471	1,311,540	827,114	1,152,136	124,745
Austria-Hungary	2,370,901	154	68,985	648,727	425,095	.....	40,324	10,563
France	45,352,724	2,081,480	3,408,218	19,506,348	1,356,858	123,745	2,614,605	1,021,321
Total	609,718,024	102,826,223	112,808,456	159,060,601	4,120,225	7,603,851	17,423,617	2,686,620
Per cent of total exports	.....	16.86	18.50	26.09	.68	1.25	2.86	.44

NOTE.—Our total domestic exports to *all* countries from which we receive sugar amounted during the fiscal year 1896 to $863,200,487.

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markets. Every bushel of grain sent abroad takes so much plant-food from our soil and reduces the land's producing power, while the sugar we purchase in return brings no plant-food to our shores. The factory should, therefore, be established on the farm in every neighborhood, so that skill, art, and science may change the raw materials of the farm into higher-selling goods.

Instead of sending our mill-feeds abroad in the shape of oil-cake, bran, cotton-seed meal, gluten meal, and similar by-products, we should ourselves convert them into live stock, meats, and other animal products, in which form they can be sold in foreign markets to greater advantage. When we make our own sugar and divide $100,000,000 among our farmers, laborers, and capitalists, we can afford to that extent to keep our raw materials at home.

Germany produces about as much sugar as the United States imported in 1897. It was grown on a little over a million acres. If the sugar we now purchase abroad were produced in this country, four hundred factories would be required to work up the necessary amount of sugar-beets. This would afford capitalists a field, as safe and permanent as any now offered, for the investment of $200,000,000, and would reduce to a very large extent the vast sum we annually pay for agricultural products that might be grown within the United States.

JAMES WILSON.

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THE DUTY OF ANNEXING HAWAII.

THE Right Hon. James Bryce, M.P., having advised us, through THE FORUM, in the most friendly spirit, of the dangers of the annexation of Hawaii by the United States, we are naturally led to an examination of the question whether we are compelled to that measure by a sense of national duty.

The friends and advocates of free republican government do not admit that the full liberty of national progress is incompatible with the theory of republican self-government. Being, largely, of British origin, the American people have inherited the love of their ancestry for every form of progress that is justified by a sincere regard for the rights and welfare of other peoples. Mr. Bryce finds no occasion for cautioning the British people against the danger of extending their dominion in foreign lands, and does not intimate that Great Britain would have any hesitancy in adopting Hawaii as a colony, with Kioulani as Queen, or even with Liliuokalani on the throne, if the United States should abandon that Republic and consent to the revolution, or assist the Royalists in the reëstablishment of the native monarchy. Kioulani, who is half English, and was brought up and educated in England, would, probably, supersede Liliuokalani, who abdicated the throne, subject to the decision of President Cleveland, and then failed to sell us her claim.

Great Britain would find it easy and quite natural to establish a protectorate, or a colony, under the reign of Kioulani.

Such a circumstance, however, would seriously offend American sentiment, and would subject our people to self-reproach for a weak desertion of a very high moral and national duty. Without stating the facts and public declarations on which this duty is founded, it may be said that it is strictly analogous to that which belongs to one who has adopted a son, in a form that confers on him no legal rights, and afterward desires to admit him to the full rights of his family, including the right of inheritance.

From the beginning, we have uniformly declared that the Hawaiian islands and people hold to the United States a relation that does not exist between them and any other nation, and that we will not permit

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to exist with any other country. This close relation has been strengthened by three treaties, until the public property of Hawaii is so far subjected to our authority that the Hawaiian government cannot dispose of it, without our consent, to any other Power. It has been strengthened, also, by important concessions of commercial advantage to that government, and by ties created by intermarriage with our people.

We are authorized, therefore, to consider this question from a point of view that is not covered by the benevolent counsel of Mr. Bryce. Some of these reasons for annexation are as follows:—

The Republic of Hawaii provides for its people as good and as pure a government as can be found in any country. This is evidenced in the condition of the people of all classes, collected there from Europe, America, Asia, and the Polynesian islands, who live together in peace, observing order and obedience to the laws, and engage industriously in gathering rich and varied harvests from the very fertile soil.

The Hawaiian people rely, almost exclusively, upon the productions of the soil for the supply of articles of commerce; and they export more, in value, of their home productions *per capita* than any other country.

Every family of the permanent population in Hawaii has a homestead; and 90 per cent of these homes are healthful and agreeable abodes with comfortable houses and sufficient grounds for raising fruits and vegetables, pigs and poultry, for the supply of the families.

The native people are very cleanly in their habits and dress, polite in their manners, and cheerful and agreeable in their conduct. They are a happy race, not inclined to crimes of a serious nature, and singularly free from larcenous or malicious offences. It is asserted in Hawaii that houses are seldom locked up at night, so free are the people from burglary, or theft. It is also a most creditable fact, due to the respect those people have for females, that a woman may safely travel alone, in any part of any of the Islands, by night or by day, and that she will be cheerfully assisted by any man whose help she may need.

The education of the people in public schools and colleges, supported by the state, is compulsory, and is thus extended to all persons of school age in the Islands, without regard to color or nationality. All the natives, and many others, over ten years of age, can read and write in the Hawaiian language and, most of them, in the English language.

Great respect and reverence is felt for religion and the Sabbath; and the instruction of the people in Sabbath-schools is not more careful in any other country. All the Christian denominations have churches, in many places, with large numbers of communicants; and Christian

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churches, with handsome chapels, are supported by both Chinese and Japanese congregations who are converts to Christianity.

A government that protects and fosters the people in these industrial, social and Christian enterprises and movements is entitled to their confidence and support; and it is given with cheerfulness.

The present government, with the present population, if the Islands continue to receive the present protection and assistance of the United States, would stand for many years; and the people would prosper. But the silent invasion of the pagan races from Asia, attracted by the excellent climate and the abundant fruits of the fertile soil, and encouraged by those who have, or will acquire, large sugar, coffee, rice, and banana estates, will not only defy all efforts of the Republic to prevent their immigration, but, very soon, will have the active assistance of Japan and China and the encouragement of the European states that are establishing their power along the whole of the Asiatic shores and islands of the Pacific Ocean. They will restore the monarchy, if we hesitate to act now. If the monarchy be restored in Hawaii, the latest measures of its policy, which caused its overthrow, will be renewed, including opium licenses, the free importation of spirituous liquors, the charter of lotteries, and the over-taxation of capital, and will result in the confiscation of the property of Americans. The relapse to barbarism will be rapid and inevitable. The monarchy will be reëstablished in Hawaii, through a combination of the lower classes of natives with the Japanese; and, in this movement, effective assistance will be given by the government of Japan and by certain wealthy men, who have large holdings of leasehold lands which they are eagerly seeking to convert, with the consent of the government, into fee-simple estates.

The United States cannot prevent the destruction of this beautiful land with its present excellent government, unless it intervenes with some sort of protectorate that will enable it to dictate laws and prescribe policies for Hawaii, such as it cannot assert even within our own national boundaries.

As we are not provided with the constitutional power to legislate for foreign countries, and can, at most, exercise only a moral influence over the government of Hawaii, any effort of ours to prevent the flooding of that country with a tidal wave of paganism, or to prevent the relapse of the republic into the monarchy, or to prevent the wealthy holders of the leased lands from obtaining fee-simple estates there through the corruption of the Queen and her Cabinet, will be utterly futile. We shall be compelled, if we refuse annexation, to stand by

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and witness the destruction of the people of our own blood, and of our citizens, without being able to assist them, unless we intervene with force.

Whether other interested nations, with large numbers of subjects in the Islands, will quietly permit such interference by our Government, is a question that must be answered at a date when the assembled Powers of Europe and Asia will find their advantage in a release of Hawaii from our assumed guardianship. That time will come, and Hawaii will no longer be our ward or adopted child, if we do not meet and disperse the flood of immigration that already has introduced into these islands two Asiatics for every native Kanaka. If there is any way to prevent the submergence of Hawaii beneath this inflow of Asiatics, except by annexation to the United States, no one seems to have been wise or fortunate enough to point it out.

The future of Hawaii, under a government that can provide for and control its assured development, such as the United States, Great Britain, or Germany, is full of interest to all the maritime nations, and is of the greatest importance to the commercial world.

As the only possible location of a central point for all the cables that can be laid in the North Pacific, its value and importance cannot be stated in any way that approximates the truth, without apparent exaggeration. Whether, in controlling markets, or the movements of naval or mercantile vessels in time of war or peace, or in the necessities of commercial correspondence between Asia and America or with the islands of the South Pacific, the plexus of cable lines, that can meet only in Hawaii, will be to all these immense interests what thought is in the control of inanimate nature, or in the movements of fleets and armies. Cable lines across the oceans are as indispensable to commerce and strategy in war as coal is to the swift ships of commerce and the battle-ships that protect them. In the present state of the art of cable construction and operation, it is impossible to work an ocean cable with success, or to maintain it, on so long a line as that from Vancouver or San Francisco to Yokohama, or to Hong Kong, or to any of the islands south of the equator in the Pacific Ocean. Such a line can be made successful only by landing the cables on some of the Hawaiian islands, for the reason that there is no other landing place in the North Pacific Ocean.

It is needless to elaborate upon the almost inexpressible advantages that must inure to the commercial nation that holds Hawaii. The question of the sea power that Hawaii must give to the maritime nation that has possession of the Islands, and owns Pearl Harbor, is one that

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can be most satisfactorily settled by the opinons and reports of skilled and experienced officers of the Army and Navy, of whom we have a number that stand at the head of their profession. Almost with one accord, and for reasons that they all agree upon, this great body of officers declare, with earnest emphasis that Hawaii is indispensable to the protection of our western coast; that it will enable us to dispense with expensive land defences at many of our lesser ports, which otherwise, we should be compelled to build; that it would enable us to defend our very extensive coast on the Pacific with fewer ships than we must now employ, because our coast-line is the arc of a great circle, of which Pearl Harbor is the centre; and that, in the event of a war of invasion directed against our Pacific coast, no nation could afford to take the risk of a direct attack upon any of our harbors without first driving us from our advanced and fortified position in Hawaii.

These opinions of able and responsible military officers have not been shaken, in the least degree, by those of the opponents of annexation, who seem to dread the fate of our armies and navies when they are found a little way from home, with no safe line of retreat.

In his last Message to Congress, President Jackson urged upon the country the increase of our navy, because that is the best means of defending our great cities from direct attack by sea, and because the true strategy of naval warfare is to meet the enemy at a distance from our own coasts, so that our ports will be sheltered from attack. His other point was, that it is always best to meet the invader far to the front, and on battle-fields where you have nothing to care for, or protect, except your own army, or fleet. It is quite safe to assert that, for military and strategic reasons, the authorities are overwhelmingly in support of the annexation of Hawaii, and agree as to the serious danger to our country of allowing these islands to become a base of operations for any European or Asiatic Power, against our western coasts.

The commercial reasons for the annexation of Hawaii are not undervalued by any merchants, or mariners, who have any acquaintance with the trade of the Pacific Ocean. Their united and unvarying opinion on this point must be accepted as authoritative, if we accept a consensus of enlightened opinion on any subject as being of any value. The merchants and navigators have made Hong Kong the second or third seaport in the world, simply through their trade with China and Japan, and the support of the sea power of Great Britain. In fifty-five years, this rock in the sea, with a good harbor, but without any other advantage, has been converted by the merchants and mariners into this

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tremendous commercial mart, only because they had there the protection of the flag of Great Britain. The island of Hong Kong has only sixteen miles of coast line, and is barren and most unhealthy.

In the same period, Honolulu, with the protection of a feeble and, for the most part, a corrupt government, has grown from a village of grass huts, occupied by natives, into a city of 30,000 inhabitants, with every appanage of the highest civilization and culture and with a foreign commerce of more than $20,000,000 per annum. In the same period, our Pacific coast has built up great cities, of vast wealth, with a commerce over the ocean of hundreds of millions of dollars. The merchants and the mariners have executed the greater and the most indispensable part of these great achievements. If the Pacific Ocean had been an area of land beyond our frontier, these people would have been as poor and helpless as those of Thibet, which is shut out from commerce on the ocean by Russia on the west, by China on the east, by Siberia on the north, and by India on the south. Yet that vast area is more fertile than our Pacific slope. It is the merchants and mariners who give to production its commercial value; and they need and well deserve the protection and encouragement of their governments.

Annex Hawaii, and we will rapidly build up at Honolulu, in sight of Pearl Harbor, a commercial mart, like Hong Kong, protected by a fortress, easy of construction, far stronger than Gibraltar, that will stand sentinel over the surrounding ocean for thousands of miles.

In the mild and agreeable climate of Hawaii there is encouragement for labor, and every element of health and physical comfort. Agriculture finds there full and remunerative reward for its labors in all the varied fruits of the tropics, in the sugar, rice, coffee, taro, and food-plants of the semi-tropical regions, and in the grain, grapes, cattle, sheep, hogs, goats, horses, and mules of the temperate zones.

Our own people, with pure minds and clean hearts and hands, have planted there, wisely and deeply, the foundations of Christian power, and have built upon them our well-ordered structure of human liberties, guarded by a written constitution. They have crowned their labors with a republican government; and now they tender to us the hand of friendship, with a plea for union with the Great Republic.

There are none to forbid the banns, except a pagan monarchy that appeals to the dissolved remains of a local and corrupt monarchy for a coalition that will submerge the Republic and the Cross in common burial. The American people will never accept that result.

JOHN T. MORGAN.

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OUR DUTY TO CUBA.

THE United States has a duty to perform, to herself, to Cuba, and to Spain; and this duty must be approved by considerations of reason, of justice, and of honor. We have never striven for, nor even desired, the hegemony of the American States. On the contrary, our Government has, with rare exceptions, studiously avoided international complications and responsibilities, perhaps at times to the prejudice of our national prestige. But it often happens that the situation of a nation, while conferring certain privileges and rights, also imposes certain duties and obligations; and, however willing it might be to dissociate itself from the affairs of other countries and to ignore their claims, it cannot always in honor and safety do so.

Such a case confronts us to-day. The Cuban Problem presses for solution; and there is a general desire to solve it wisely. We must determine what action is required of us that we may be true both to ourselves and the Cubans, and, as far as is consistent, considerate of the rights of Spain. During the last two years Congress, for the first time taking the initiative, has been discussing the recognition of belligerency; a power heretofore exercised by the Executive in all forms of government. Legislative action in such matters has, until recently, been confined to an expression of opinion intended to excite a tardy Executive to action. The joint resolution recently passed by the Senate would be an authoritative recognition of belligerency of the highest character, if it should meet with Executive approval; and, as a consequence, important benefits would inure to the Insurgents. The Cuban cruisers would have the same rights as those of Spain; and the Cuban flag would be as much respected. Her captured soldiers would be entitled to treatment as prisoners of war; and Cuba would enjoy the same rights as Spain to purchase all munitions of war, and what is more important—to borrow money. Perhaps also her credit would become as good as that of Spain.

The last Administration did not see fit to issue any proclamation of neutrality; and the present Administration, thus far, has adopted the same policy. Impossible requirements have been made of the Cubans

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as necessary precedents to the recognition of belligerency, such as a permanent seat of government, the occupation of a seaport, and general engagements of armies. The whole character of the war, however, absolutely precludes the fulfilment of any one of these conditions. They would not be demanded by any sincere man who had the slightest knowledge of the military operations peculiar to a struggle of this kind. The Insurgents have conducted the war in the only way possible to success. They have not weakened their forces by garrisoning capital or seaport, or by attempting to hold any particular point of vantage; nor have they been so foolish as to risk the whole result of their struggle in pitched battles, when forty thousand diversely and insufficiently armed patriots would be required to fight the two hundred thousand regulars of Spain, and her fifty thousand guerillas and volunteers. On the contrary, they permit the Spaniards to employ their great force in garrisoning towns, ports, trochas, railroads, etc., while they themselves keep the open country, live upon its products, collect taxes, and harass the enemy whenever the latter leave their fortifications. The plan of the campaign, therefore, has been masterly, and its execution gallant and effective.

We must remember, further, that the recognition of belligerency is a question not of right, but of fact only. Presidents and Secretaries of State speak, in messages and dispatches, of the contest as "war"; but they will not acknowledge it to be war by any proclamation of neutrality. Indeed a great deal of zeal is displayed in repressing every act of the American people that might in any material way prove helpful to the Cuban cause; while the Spaniards have free access to our markets for whatever they may need. Doubtless this great advantage to Spain has not been unperceived by our statesmen.

But a recognition of belligerency would not accomplish our measure of duty in this matter. The preservation of material interests and of national and political influence has been recognized by international law as sufficient cause for either peaceful or armed intervention in civil wars. Whenever a nation believes that the integrity of its territory, the peaceful permanence of its institutions, its influence, its prestige, or its commercial interests will suffer by the continuance of a struggle between two countries, or between any country and a revolting portion of its subjects, then the intervention of that nation is justifiable. We may cite as examples the armed intervention of the Czar of Russia, who crushed out the Hungarian revolt against Austria upon political grounds; also the intervention of Britain, Austria,

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France, Prussia, and Russia, when those countries, after having been invited by the King of the Netherlands to "concert" with him in restoring the revolting Belgians to their allegiance, interfered only to uphold the insurgents and to establish for them an independent government, which was maintained by force of arms. They assigned as the reason for this intervention their desire to prevent the effusion of blood and to restore the equilibrium of Europe. For three-quarters of a century, furthermore, the European Powers have forcibly interfered with the affairs of Turkey; dismembering her empire by giving independence to some provinces, and autonomy to others. Their only excuse has been a determination, in accordance with the Treaty of Berlin, to "regulate," with a view to European order, "the affairs of the Ottoman Empire." Only last summer, the Powers of Europe laid a repressing hand upon Greece, sent their warships into her waters, fired upon her troops, and imposed upon Turkey the autonomy of Crete. This interference was professedly for the sake of order, but really to protect the bond and stock market of Europe. Moreover, all the acquisitions of territory made in Asia by European peoples have been for the protection or enlargement of their commerce. In view of these facts, are we not justified in concluding that all the motives which have excused intervention on the part of other countries unite to induce us to take the necessary steps to end hostilities in Cuba?

If we look to our duty, we cannot be indifferent to her fate. The example of insurrection against oppression was set by us. We taught her that revolution is the right of every people—that the tyrant listens to no appeal, except the appeal to arms. Lying almost in sight of our shores, Cuba has had full opportunity to observe the glorious success of the grandest experiment ever made by any people in self-government. Every day she contrasts our condition with her own. We unconsciously teach her to imitate our example and to emulate our prosperity.

We must remember, in the next place, that the citizens of the United States own over fifty millions of property in Cuba, and have mortgages on as much more. All this is being wasted by a war of destruction. A trade amounting to about eighty-five million dollars per annum is being wrecked, and, if the war continues, will almost disappear. That claims for damages will be worthless, has been fully proved by experience. It is the duty of the United States to protect this business as well as the property of its citizens. To secure this end, every effort toward peaceful mediation should be first tried, although our pre-

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vious propositions to lend our friendly offices have been rejected. The United States should proffer to stand security for Cuba, for the payment to Spain of two hundred million dollars for her quit-claim to the island. In consideration of the bankrupt condition of her exchequer and of her demonstrated inability to suppress the rebellion, Spain could honorably accept this proposition.

In 1848, we made an offer for Cuba which was peremptorily rejected. In 1853, urged thereto by strong public sentiment, we made another offer, which was refused with disdain; the Commission chosen for the negotiation being abruptly dismissed. The Commissioners then retired to Ostend and published their famous manifesto, which declared, substantially, that the United States should take and annex Cuba, if Spain continued her refusal to sell. The Spanish ministry said that Spain would as soon sell her honor as sell the island. The conqueror of Spain, it should be remembered, had not thought it dishonorable to sell to the United States the province of Louisiana which he had wrested from her.

In settlements of boundaries and in treaties of peace, it is not unusual for changes of territory to be made for cash compensation. There is, then, no reason why we should not repeat our proposition. In case of failure, we should insist, both in our own interest and for the sake of humanity, that Spain end the war within a definite period; and, if necessary, we should enforce this demand. The struggle, however closed, will leave the island devastated; but, under an enlightened government, its recuperation cannot fail to be rapid. It now supports a population of a million and a half; it bears a taxation of twenty-six million dollars; and has a foreign trade of one hundred millions. Java, with about the same area (52,000 square miles), also lying in a tropical sea, supports a population of about thirty-four millions. When it came into the possession of the Dutch it had fewer inhabitants than Cuba has now. The latter can easily support a population of at least ten millions; and its productions of field, forest, and mine can be enormously increased. Its citizens therefore, would, soon be enabled to pay their debts and to extend immensely their trade with us. There is not a country in Europe, occupying relations to Cuba in propinquity and trade similar to ours, that would hesitate a moment to make some effort to stop the work of bloodshed and destruction.

Whether, ultimately, Cuba shall be an independent republic, or shall be annexed to the United States, is another question; but it is certain that in either case the great influx of American energy, business

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sense, and capital that would follow the close of the present war would add rapidly to the development and wealth of the island; for there is no other field so convenient and inviting to the American.

It may here be noted, however, that the idea of the ultimate acquisition of Cuba by the United States has been cherished by the greatest statesmen of the Union since the beginning of our existence as a republic. We have declined to consider the right of any European nation to acquire it, or even have a voice in deciding its destiny. Mr. Everett, when Secretary of State, refused to enter into a convention with France and Great Britain for the purpose of securing it to Spain forever. His reasons were: First, that the United States would not tolerate the interference of European nations in a purely American affair; and, second, that the United States would not engage by compact never to acquire the island.

Mr. Jefferson and Mr. J. Q. Adams long ago set forth the advantages that would accrue to the United States by the acquisition of Cuba. It lies at our doors; it has ample and safe harbors, which our Gulf Coast lacks; it commands the commerce of the Mississippi River; it is a convenient base of operations in the Mexican Gulf and the Caribbean Sea. It should be remembered, further, that the French are again at work on the Panama Canal, and that, whether they succeed or not, a canal will somewhere and at some time unite the two oceans. Our Secretaries of State have officially informed the world that, whenever and by whomsoever built, any such canal will be considered part of the coast-line of the United States, because our interests demand it. If we intend to make good this declaration, the acquisition will be a necessity.

When, in 1820, Colombia and Mexico were contemplating an invasion of Cuba, Mr. Clay, as Secretary of State, instructed our minister to say that the United States would not permit "a desolating war to be waged in Cuba," because it was against our interests. In history, interests are always acknowledged as a proper cause for action. They are often made the excuse for what might appear to be a high-handed and arbitrary exercise of power; for it is conceded that a nation's first duty is to itself. No nation that has protected its interests at any cost has suffered in the esteem of mankind. On the contrary, a failure to do so is followed by a loss of prestige, if not by general contempt.

Mr. Cleveland, in his last Annual Message, while professing a desire to observe strictly our terms of the treaty with Spain, and assuring her of his readiness to suppress any attempt within the borders of the

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United States to give material aid to her insurgents, yet warned her that, if bloodshed and devastation continued on the island, the temper of our people would be so aroused that the Government would finally have to yield. No one suspects Mr. Cleveland of undue friendliness toward Cuba; but he could not fail to recognize that at some time intervention must come. More than a year has elapsed since that utterance; one campaign season has come and gone, and another will soon be ended. Then another rainy season will begin; making field operations hazardous, difficult, and almost impracticable. The climatic diseases, deadly to the alien, will be more fatal to the Spanish troops than the machete. Spain has exhausted her treasury; and her troops have not been paid for many months. They have become debilitated and have died from insufficient and improper food. Spain has been compelled to withdraw some of her forces from the field, and would be glad to see the war terminated. On the other hand, the Insurgents are full of courage and hope; they are better equipped, and stronger than ever before; and, confident of success, they are patiently biding their time. It is a case of the anvil wearing out the hammer. The Cubans are much misunderstood and undervalued. They are not a mongrel people, but are, in fact, the only Spanish-American colony without an admixture of Indian blood. They have been considered turbulent; but no people ever had greater cause for rebellion.

The oppression of Great Britain, which fired us to revolt in 1776, was a bagatelle in comparison with the tyranny and injustice inflicted by Spain on her subjects in Cuba. Cuba has not been fostered as a part of the Spanish nation; but she has been held in subjection, to satisfy rapacity and greed. She is under a despotism more absolute than that exhibited by any civilized monarchy in the world. The captain-general has the power of a commandant of a city in state of siege. His decrees are unchangeable, his excesses unquestioned; and the life, liberty, honor, and property of the inhabitants are subject to his caprice. This condition of things has existed for centuries. Promises of reform are never fulfilled. The Ten Years' War, closed in 1878 by the treaty—or, as it is termed, the "agreement"—of Zangjone, gained from the mother-country the promise of many reforms which, had they been carried out would, without doubt, have restored the estranged Cubans to loyalty to Spain. The governor-general who negotiated this agreement was not only a great soldier and statesman, but a patriot, a humanitarian, and an honest man. Yet Canovas del Castillo, the late prime minister, who at that time was also at the head

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of the Spanish Government, refused to submit the agreement to the Cortes for ratification. He was compelled to resign; and Martinez Campos formed a ministry which adopted it. Campos justified the treaty by declaring that the reforms promised must be granted or the war be carried to extermination, which latter alternative he could not accept. Yet this dreadful alternative seemed more agreeable to Canovas than any concessions, however wise, just, or necessary, made to insurgents in arms. He demanded that the Cubans should disarm and submit themselves absolutely to the pleasure of Spain; relying on promises that had often been made and as often shamelessly violated.

In short, Canovas, as prime minister during both wars, deliberately chose the policy of extermination. He allowed Martinez Campos, because of his soldierly and administrative capacity, to be sent to the island at the outbreak of the present rebellion; but this gallant man again refused to be the agent of so ruthless a policy. He was recalled by Canovas; and Gen. Weyler, whose views of humanity accorded with those of the Prime Minister, was sent to execute the plan. General Weyler was vigorous in his work, so far as the Cubans allowed him to be. Is it strange, then, that the latter make so desperate a resistance?

The Cubans are desperate, moreover, because no population in any civilized country carries such a burden of taxation, not one twenty-fifth part of which is expended for their benefit—a taxation that would drive to revolt the most peaceful and submissive people in the world. Their public affairs are administered by strangers who despise and plunder them; they are governed by officials who, whether civil or military, are almost universally corrupt. Even justice is for sale; and no man's rights are secure. The Cubans are shut out from public employments, and are denied a proper and legitimate field for their ambition. If they were not to-day in rebellion, they would be despicable in the eyes of honorable men. They have displayed a courage, a devotion, a fortitude, and a persistence of purpose that have elicited the admiration of the world; thus demonstrating their ability to govern themselves as a free and independent republic, and to assume and perform all the obligations of a member of the family of nations. There is no Spanish-American country so fit in every respect for independence.

However this may be, no failure at self-government by the Cubans can be so deplorably bad as the misgovernment of the island by Spain. They will be able to levy, collect, and expend their own taxes with more benefit to themselves than they derive under the present system.

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The three thousand miles of ocean between the ruler and the ruled seem to engulf all sense of justice, propriety, and humanity. The Cubans prefer destruction to any form of peaceful settlement, except independence. Their distrust is too profound to allow them to submit to a return to allegiance. The form of autonomy presented by Sagasta and approved by the American Government has been as heartily repudiated by the Spaniards on the island—citizens and soldiers—as by the Insurgents. The whole scheme was a failure from the beginning. Meanwhile, the policy of extermination goes steadily forward. Starvation is doing its expected work, but too slowly for the sanguinary Spanish volunteers, who desire a swifter means of destruction.

I have learned from reliable authority that, in the year 1897, 600,000 died of starvation and the diseases incident thereto. Every day thousands more are perishing. The American people are now asking whether the loss of life and property has not been sufficient. Every fresh horror is a trumpet-call to our sympathies; every vandal act of waste an appeal to our enlightened self-interest; and the public should give an expression of its wishes which the Government could not disregard. It is safe to say that there is not a people in Europe that does not sympathize with the Greeks and the Cretans; yet the governments of Europe have given their aid to the Turk. So the people of this Union would hasten to the succor of the Cubans; yet two Administrations have given but slight recognition to the public sentiment. Thirteen consuls of the United States in Cuba have truthfully portrayed the dreadful condition of the island; yet their official representations have not affected the policy of our Presidents and Cabinets.

The truth is, that the bond and stock market is to-day the most potent factor in the government of nations; and the men who compose it care but little for the general business of the mass of the people, for liberty, for religion, or for humanity.

H. D. MONEY.

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THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND ITS FUTURE.

THE origin of the Democratic party is traced to Thomas Jefferson. That party is the outgrowth of his political teaching. Following the revolution of 1776, when the Fathers came to the difficult work of organizing a permanent national government, there was a wide divergence of opinion as to the form that that government should take and the powers with which it should be invested. The public sentiment in favor of a permanent union, while far from unanimous, was yet strong enough to make opposition futile. But when it came to the practical work of agreeing to the exact terms of the union, there were disagreements so radical in nature, and sometimes so dogmatic in assertion, as to imperil the momentous scheme in hand, and to excite, in consequence, a profound anxiety in the minds of the patriots.

To what extent the States should surrender their sovereignty; what the scope of the Federal jurisdiction should be; what powers the general government should have; and in what manner and through what agencies its powers should be exercised,—these were questions of grave import; for upon their settlement depended the future relations of the States and the people, on the one hand, and the approaching Federal establishment, on the other.

It is not surprising, therefore, that serious differences arose, or that acrimonious controversies were waged. Some favored a strong central government, clothed with such powers as should make it practically supreme in all things throughout the Union. The advocates of this theory, among whom were many eminent men, doubted the capacity of the people for self-government. They did not believe that real stability in governmental institutions was possible, or that great policies could be systematically developed, if the control of public affairs was left to the fickle impulsion of popular sentiment. They did not impugn the patriotism of the people, but feared that, in the determination of public questions, they would be too often swayed more by passion than by judgment, more by caprice than by reason. They sought, therefore, to amplify the powers of the central government, and to minimize and subordinate the authority of the States. They desired to

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make the new government in a large measure independent of popular opinion, and, by multiplying restraints, to insure stability: this was Federalism.

On the other hand, there were those who opposed the formation of an omnipotent central government, but favored one of limited and purely delegated powers, withholding all powers not specifically granted. The advocates of this theory—among them many of the most conspicuous men of the age—believed in the capacity of the people to govern themselves. They feared the tyranny of intrenched power more than the unreason of popular impulse. They sought, therefore, to create a union of States, to define the purposes of the central government, and to grant to it only such powers as were necessary to make those purposes effective. They desired to make the government directly responsible to the people. They opposed every form of irresponsible power and every pretence of "divine right" in government; holding that the only sacred and inviolable sovereignty was popular sovereignty. In other words, they sought to found a republic on the patriotism of the people, to be administered in accordance with the popular will: this was Democracy.

In the final outcome of these conflicts of opinion, neither side was altogether successful. The result was rather a compromise than a victory. The government was indeed made one of limited powers; for all powers not specially granted to it, or prohibited to the States, were expressly reserved to the States and the people, respectively. Such is the language of the Constitution. The Legislative and Executive departments were organized, in the main, on Democratic lines. The President and Members of Congress were made elective and, more or less, directly amenable to the people.

In these particulars, and to this extent, the cause of Democracy was triumphant. In the organization of the Judicial department, however, Federalism achieved a decided advantage. That department was constructed on Federalistic lines. The judges, of all degrees, were made appointive, with life tenures in office. They were placed beyond the reach of the people, and freed from direct responsibility to them; for impeachment, as Jefferson said, is only a scarecrow.

This war of ideas, waged in the convention which framed the Constitution, and renewed when that instrument was submitted for ratification, did not cease after the Constitution had been adopted and the new government established under its provisions. It has continued ever since: it continues to-day. Around these antagonistic ideas, these

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hostile theories, two political parties were organized. Absolute Federal supremacy has been, and is, the predominant thought and purpose of the Federalist party. In promoting that purpose, its advocates have been assertive, pertinacious, and aggressive. They have resorted to every conceivable device to evade the Constitution that loose construction could invent; and every breach of the organic law has been made a precedent for additional infraction. They have been ever reaching out for more power; striving to build up a stupendous and splendid Federal establishment, and to make it more and more independent of the people. Among the great men who, in the beginning, opposed the theory and designs of the Federalists, Thomas Jefferson stood preëminent. He was easily the recognized leader of the Democracy, and its ablest champion. No one loved the Union more than he; and none did more to unite the States under a common government. But Jefferson was firmly opposed to the Federalist scheme of organic consolidation. He realized that the greatest danger to free institutions and to liberty was in usurpation and corruption; and he knew that the danger would augment in a ratio corresponding to the growth of official power and independence. He believed in keeping the government close to the people, and, as far as possible, under their immediate control. He favored the State governments because they *were* close to the people, could serve them to the best advantage, and were less capable of abusing their powers. He believed in a strict construction of the Constitution: for he knew that latitudinarianism in this respect would lead to centralization; and centralization was the thing he dreaded most. A strong, majestic central government might be gratifying to national pride and, for a time, advantageous to national development; but Jefferson realized that beneath the glamor and tinsel, the pomp and circumstance of power, would lurk the germs of corruption, which, sooner or later, would infect the body politic with their festering poisons. He feared and foresaw that selfish special interests, alert, adroit, and powerful, would become very potent at the Capitol, and might so manipulate the government as to make it little more than a mere machine for the protection and promotion of those interests. Profoundly convinced that, the nearer the national government approached to Federalism, the farther it would recede from Democracy, he devoted his great powers to the formation of a party that would defend the principle of self-government and resist encroachment on popular rights. And so the Democratic party was organized.

The apprehensions and prophecies of Jefferson have been justified

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by the events of history. History marks an almost continuous struggle of the common people, so-called, to retain control of the government and to defend popular rights against the aggressions of powerful special interests. And in all these struggles, from the days of Jefferson to those of Bryan, special interests, pushing for advantage, have depended for support upon the Federal party, by whatever name known; while the Democratic party has inveighed against them. The truth of this can be demonstrated by reference to that chapter of our history relating to the old United States Bank. The momentous struggle between that bank and the people not only proves what I say, but also fitly illustrates the principles, purposes, and tendencies of American political parties. The creature of law, the Bank grew to such proportions that it mocked at law. It held the financial interests of a great people almost hopelessly in its grasp. It could expand or contract the currency at will, and thereby held the great business interests of the nation at its mercy. With audacious arrogance, it sought finally to dominate the political, as well as the fiscal, affairs of the government that gave it life. It laughed at restraint, and defied those who opposed it. Journalists, politicians, and business men were obsequious that "thrift might follow fawning," or because they feared the Bank's resentment. Those it could not frighten, it corrupted; and those it could neither frighten nor corrupt, it endeavored to destroy. Some it bought; others it coerced; while still others flocked to its standard from choice. It even went so far as to beard the lion, Jackson, in his den. Then the storm of battle burst; and it raged for years.

Through it all, from the beginning to the end, the Federalist party was the loyal champion of the Bank, and the Democratic party its uncompromising foe. The one defended it: the other destroyed it.

Looking back at the history of that time, it seems strange, at first glance,—indeed almost incredible,—that any great American party could lend itself to a cause so bad. But there is in fact no real occasion for astonishment. The United States Bank was a natural outgrowth of Federalism, a natural effect of a political cause. The doctrine of consolidation is necessarily productive and promotive of just such special interests. The Federalists supported the Bank because they esteemed it a good thing for the country; and the Bank supported the Federalists because they supported it. Sympathy of purpose and of interest allied them.

The history of that struggle, and the relation of the two great parties to it, would all be reproduced, could the contest occur over again.

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Any essential change in the situation would be impossible. Does anyone doubt that the Republican party—the Federalist party of to-day—would espouse the Bank, if it could be carried back, under the leadership of Mr. Hanna, to the days of Andrew Jackson?

But there is no need of going back to the old days, when Jackson met insolence with courage, and answered defiance with a blow,—no need, unless it be to imbibe somewhat of his heroic spirit, that we may imitate his patriotic example. There is no need, certainly, of going back for mere historical data with which to test the disposition of the Republican party. We have proof at hand that the Federalism of to-day is not different from the Federalism of the past, except that it is now stronger and more confident. The old United States Bank has reappeared in our National Banks. The destruction of the old Bank was, after all, but the sowing of the dragon's teeth, from which this new devil's progeny has sprung. There is some change in form, some alteration in details; but, otherwise, the old is easily recognized in the new. In their origin, and in their purpose and effect, the old and the new are substantially the same.

The National Banks are the most powerful single influence in America to-day. Politicians are subservient to them. Newspapers, parrot-like, repeat their oracles. Business men consult them for political opinions. They dictate platforms to political parties. They dominate the National Treasury. They direct the financial policies of the Government. They hypnotize Presidents and cabinets, and exert an influence on public affairs as baneful as it is appalling. If the National Banks are not guilty of all these things and more, they are terribly misunderstood, and the facts are strangely against them. History will write as I have written, with additions and elaboration. The Republican party created these banks, and ever since has been their steadfast friend, advocate, and defender. The Democratic party has been their inveterate enemy. It may be that, years hence, our descendants will wonder how any great American party could have supported these institutions. If so, the answer must be that which we make now, when we review the struggles of the past. History has only repeated itself.

For thirty years, Federalism has been in the ascendant. During a large part of that period its sway has been absolute; and during the whole of it it has stood on vantage-ground. During that period, the Democracy has been more a negative than a positive force, more a force in resistance than of impulsion. While Federalism has been assertive and aggressive, the Democracy has been (up to 1896), for the most part, apolo-

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getic and conservative. Federalism was offensive; Democracy defensive. What has happened? Mammon reigns at Washington. An empire has been granted out of the public domain to corporations. Great trusts have sprung up, like deadly upas-trees, throughout the nation. Manufacturers write tariff schedules; and bankers dictate the policies of the Treasury. Capital bargains for judicial appointments; and judges reverse a long line of adjudications,—even their own decisions,—that wealth may escape taxation. Government by injunction has been invented; and the army has been ordered to suppress local riots without the request of the State authorities, and in spite of their protest. Even great leaders of the Democracy have been coerced, corrupted, or cajoled into a betrayal of their party, and into an effort to crush it beneath the shining Juggernaut of plutocracy. These, and others of like kind, are the natural, inevitable fruits of Federalism. They are the very dangers against which Jefferson warned his countrymen. To all such, the Democratic party is instinctively antagonistic, and must be antagonistic, if true to its mission.

In 1896, the Democratic party was itself again for the first time in many years. It took the offensive, and fought to restore the rule of the people. Where stood the great banks, trusts, syndicates, corporations, and other large aggregations of capital? Drawn together by the cohesive power of plunder, every pampered interest which thrives on public favor, every meretricious offspring of class legislation, every combination which prospers at the expense of honest toil, every night-hawk of finance, every wrecker of enterprise, opened their treasuries to the Republican party. One and all, they attacked the Democratic party with a ferocity unexampled; resorting to bribery, intimidation, and coercion with a boldness never before attempted in our history. The Democratic party relied, as it must always rely, upon the plain people, the sons of toil,—those who create the nation's wealth, bear its burdens in peace, and defend its flag in war. The incidents of that remarkable campaign, and the forces in opposition, demonstrate that the old line of separation between the parties remains the same. Federalism and Democracy alike are unchanged.

But all this relates to the past of the Democratic party; whereas my subject relates to its future. I recall these facts of past and current history, however, as a basis of prognostication. Seeing what the party has been, we can the better judge what it will be. The lamp of experience throws the best light on the future. And so, judging the future by the past, I think it safe to say, generally, that, so long as the

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doctrine of centralization is opposed, and the doctrine of popular sovereignty in the nation and of State supremacy over local affairs is maintained, and so long as the people fight for liberty, for self-government, and for the control of public affairs against sordid special interests, the Democratic party will remain unchanged. In other words, concretely stated, so long as the principles of Thomas Jefferson are a vital influence in the Republic, the Democratic party will continue to be what it has ever been—the exponent of those principles.

The battles of the future will be substantially along the same lines as those of the past. Against the Democratic party will be arrayed the same powerful influences which opposed it in the last campaign; while its supporters will come from the multitude whose loyal hearts and busy hands make the nation really opulent and great. The declarations of the Chicago platform of 1896, so far as they relate to fundamental questions, will stand, as they have stood for a century, as the permanent creed of the party; and, so far as they relate to financial and purely economic questions, they will be repeated and insisted upon from one convention to another until crystallized into legislation, or until eliminated, by reason of satisfactory changes in the industrial and economic conditions of the country. I say this because that platform is a clear, conservative, comprehensive statement of the Democratic position. Every declaration in it is Democratic, made alone in the interest of the common people, and in strict accord with the ancient faith of the party.

Moreover, the platform has the approval of the people themselves; it is indeed their handiwork; and politicians could not change it if they would. The effort of the most powerful politicians in the party to lead the people away from the principles of that platform not only failed, but resulted in their complete undoing. Their revolt was abortive. It was important only because of its distinguished leaders, and great only in its disappointments. The platform has the approval of the party. The recalcitrant leaders who organized the Indianapolis fiasco have essayed to justify their apostasy by railing at certain clauses in the platform; resorting to interpolation and misconstruction, to prove them revolutionary and destructive. But, in truth, the very things which these whilom Democrats joined Republicans in denouncing most were those of the greatest merit. They were, moreover, the most Democratic things in the platform,—the things which have startled plutocracy most, and in which the people have taken the profoundest interest. These obnoxious enunciations related to the coinage of silver,

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the issuance of bonds, the income-tax decision, and government by injunction. Upon all these questions the Convention was right—both right and Democratic.

Bimetallism is an old Democratic doctrine. Ever since silver remonetization has been a political question, the Democratic party has favored it. For twenty years, it has declared for it in National and State conventions, and fought for it in Congress. There was nothing remarkable, therefore, in the Chicago Convention declaring for free coinage. It would have been remarkable if it had not done so. The declaration for a precise ratio and for independent action was a logical necessity of the situation. That declaration, if made in earnest, was the cream of the proposition: without it, the proposition would have been as skim-milk, blue and watery, a fraud and a sham.

International bimetallism is greatly to be desired; but, under present conditions, it is visionary to expect it. If Americans really desire bimetallism, they must act for themselves. Nay more, if they hope for international bimetallism, they must take the initiative. Were they to force this fight, they would bring the whole of Europe to their feet. In any event, the policies of our Government should not be directed from foreign capitals and counting-rooms. Our position should be one of independence, not subservience; our course, one of example, not of imitation. The Chicago declaration was not only good Democracy, but good Americanism. The party was right; and it still has the courage of its convictions.

Opposition to the issuance of interest-bearing bonds in times of peace is also an old Democratic doctrine. Senator Hill's assertion, that the platform declaration on that subject is "vicious and unfortunate," is a strange utterance from one who has boasted of his Democracy. Since when did the Democratic party become the advocate of bond issues? Since when did it enter into alliance with Wall Street and Lombard Street? Whenever this question has been raised,—in conventions or in Congress,—the Democratic party has uniformly opposed the issuance of such bonds. This is a historical party policy. It is also absolutely right; for a public debt is a curse, not a blessing. Nations, like individuals, are freer and happier when out of debt. Capitalists only are benefited by the issuing of bonds: but "the greatest good to the greatest number" is the essence of Democracy; and capitalists are comparatively few. The platform does not say that bonds shall never be issued; but it does declare against the policy of issuing them. A necessity for a bond issue might arise; but it should be an honest necessity, not a

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manufactured one: it should be urgent, imperative, and unavoidable. The Democratic party is opposed on principle to issuing bonds in times of peace, has always been, and should be. The declaration was right, and cannot be changed.

The income-tax decision deserved to be censured. The peculiar circumstances under which it was rendered were, it must be admitted, most unusual. It was sanctioned by only five of the nine justices; the other four dissenting. It overthrew "the uniform decisions of that court for nearly one hundred years"; and one of the justices reversed his own opinion in that very case. Wealth marshalled all its forces to fight the law, and won. That decision did more to shake popular faith in judicial integrity than anything that had occurred for a generation. It was bad in its moral effect, and bad as a precedent. As a precedent, it is a menace to the national safety, and, if permitted to stand, may turn up to plague us in some great extremity. Mr. Justice Harlan said of it:—

"It cannot be regarded otherwise than as a disaster to the country. The decree now passed dislocates—principally for reasons of an economic nature—a sovereign power expressly granted to the General Government, and long recognized and fully established by judicial decisions and legislative action."

Mr. Justice Brown remarked:—

"I cannot escape the conviction that the decision of the court in this great case is fraught with immeasurable danger to the future of the country, and that it approaches the proportion of a national calamity."

He feared that in some moment of great national peril the decision would rise up to frustrate the will of Congress and to paralyze its arm; adding:—

"I hope it may not prove the first step toward the submergence of the liberties of the people in a sordid despotism of wealth."

The other dissenting justices spoke to the same effect. The Chicago platform was not half so severe. With propriety and truth it might have said more. Such a decision should not stand. The public welfare forbids it; and, besides, the Supreme Court should be kept "spotless as a star."

Government by injunction was denounced because it is "a new and highly dangerous form of oppression by which Federal judges, in contempt of the laws of the States and rights of citizens, become at once legislators, judges, and executioners." It is an invention full of peril

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to Republican institutions and to personal liberty. When the courts usurp the powers of legislation and invade the Executive province, they become a menace. Public order must be preserved; but the duty of preserving it is primarily with the State. The Federal Government should interpose to suppress local disorder only when applied to by the State, in conformity with the Constitution. The Federal judiciary has no more right than the Federal Executive to infringe on State authority. If the courts can order the employees of a corporation, under the penalties of contempt, to serve their master against their will, there is no limit to judicial usurpation. Even necessity will rarely justify usurpation; and expediency is no warrant for official lawlessness. Usurpation should be resisted at every point; and a bad precedent should be recalled at the earliest moment.

Jefferson feared the judiciary as constituted. It was too Federalistic. The judges, he said, were the sappers and miners, who, encroaching a little here and a little there,—making one encroachment the precedent for another,—would go on unrestrainedly until all power would be absorbed by the National Government, and Republican institutions would sink into a splendid despotism. History has proved Jefferson right in this, as in most things. That many of our greatest and purest men have sat and still sit on the bench, does not alter the case. The tendency is toward absolute judicial supremacy; and that means absolute Federalism. The Convention was right. Government by injunction is dangerous and should be resisted. The law should be so changed as to curb the power of the courts by further limitations of their jurisdiction.

Yes; the Convention was right in all it said and did—both right and Democratic. The recreant lordlings who conspired at Indianapolis are no longer our Gamaliels. They can no longer speak *ex cathedra* of Democratic creeds. The Chicago platform will stand. Plutocracy may gnash its teeth and roar; but the Democracy is unawed. Defeated, but not dispirited,—still erect, defiant, and confident,—the Democratic party will go forward more resolutely than ever; fighting to uphold the cause of popular government and to preserve unsullied the institutions of the Fathers. That is its mission; and that will be its future.

WILLIAM J. STONE.

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CHINA'S COMPLICATIONS AND AMERICAN TRADE.

"The various nations of the earth watch round us, like glaring beasts."—Tso Tsung T'ang's Memorial to the Throne.[1]

With Russia permanently encamped in the northern provinces of China, her railway survey parties and their military guards moving down through Manchuria toward Port Arthur, where her fleet is already in thinly disguised permanent occupation; with Germany's "mailed fist" in clutch upon Kiao Chou Bay; with Japan at Wei-hai-wei; with the masterful English pervading all the important trade centres, and keeping a formidable squadron on the coast; and with the French ever nibbling at the southern frontier, it is not difficult to read the meaning, or feel the pathos, of poor old Tso Tsung T'ang's bitter wail against the Outside Barbarians.

What will happen when the "glaring beasts" are weary of waiting upon their hapless quarry?

It would be only a rash and inexperienced prophet who would attempt to answer this question, or venture into the dangerous region of publicly expressed prediction, at this critical moment, when history is being made and changed, or may be turned upside-down, by any chance event, and when the great Eastern-Asiatic Question is possibly in course of final adjustment between the Christian nations.

Yet, even here, where facts, instead of theories, must be considered, it may be safe, at least, to infer that, in spite of the present gravity of Far-Eastern affairs, nothing of startling import—except perhaps for the Chinese—is likely to develop immediately. Any touch of a reckless match, under the inflammable conditions now prevailing, might light a fire, which would be certain to blaze around the world. Under such conditions it is more than probable that those dealing with this complex situation will walk with the fullest circumspection; and it is likely that England's recent bold stand, in respect of her treaty and trade rights, and of the opening of the proposed new treaty ports, may, if adhered to, prevent, or, at least, long defer, the threatened partition, and bring about a new and tolerably lasting *modus vivendi*.

[1] "Travels in the Middle Kingdom," by Gen. J. H. Wilson, p. 155.

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But, if such partition must result, or now tentatively begin, it is more than probable,—so long as the underlying motive of the foreign, or at least European, aggression is, on final analysis, merely a struggle for trade supremacy,—that the adjustment of China's bankruptcy will take some such peaceful form of division and distribution of assets as obtains in ordinary commercial failures; although in this case, all the claimants, whether just or unjust creditors, will certainly clamor for a substantial dividend. That Russia, holding what may be called a preferred claim, will demand not only Manchuria, but also the Liau Tong peninsula, goes without saying. She will indeed be grievously dissatisfied without Corea, concerning which—as well as Wei-hai-wei and various other factors of the problem—Japan will have her say. England must get the Yang-tsze Kiang Valley, vast and important as it is, with a liberal allowance of area in the southern provinces, whether to add to Hong Kong or guard the West River or the Yunnan trade, or to admit of the Burmah Railway extension, and so to head off the aims of France in those regions. She will imperatively need also the outlying islands of the Chusan Archipelago, in order conveniently to protect Shanghai and to afford a handy northern seaport on the China Coast. France may be accommodated with Hainan, and some of China's southern territory, but will quarrel for more, with the inevitable result, that many *questions epineuses* will arise to be threshed out later with Great Britain. Germany, as all the world has seen, has set her heart upon the rich province of Shan Tung, of which Kiao Chou is only the outward and visible sign; and Japan also must be provided for. The remaining, or what, in this situation, may be styled the *fainéant* nationalities,—the United States, Austria, Italy, Spain, etc.,—need not be provided for in the general scramble; but there should, in common decency, be *something* left for China.

Unfortunate China! It is futile to discuss her claims or equities, in the presence of these dominating and overwhelming alien forces, inspired as they are by a consuming avidity for markets and territory, while beholding here the only remaining open field of the world, and convinced that the once great Middle Kingdom which offers it is now only what is known in the contemptuous slang of the day as a "back number." If it be desired, however, to consider how such equities are currently regarded, we may conveniently take the most recent case of foreign aggression.

Here, we find Germany, a hitherto friendly Power, maintaining full diplomatic and treaty relations in harmonious working, suddenly, on a

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slim pretext, appropriating Chinese territory, under the guise of a lease or form of title which, for convenience, the world has agreed to recognize as of *prima facie* sufficiency. China is thus treated, on the one hand, as an autonomous Power, from which such form of title may be legally acquired; while, on the other hand, the Middle Kingdom is regarded merely as a barbaric occupation, open to encroachment, on whatever fanciful grounds, without the usual formalities of preliminary negotiation. At the moment, the current publications of the world are filled with discussion of this business and of the rights of things—Chinese, as well as international—in the premises, although the case admits of no hair-splitting refinements, and is met by no maxim or theory so fitting as the old and cynical suggestion,

> "That they should take who have the power,
> And they should keep who can."

This German procedure, as likewise the gradual Russian absorption of the northern provinces, might have been borne by the other outside nations with calm philosophy, so long as such operations involved no abridgment of their own rights. But just this detrimental condition directly results; seeing that all the other outside nationalities now possess full trading privileges for their subjects or citizens in such portions of the Empire as the Chinese have designated treaty ports,—obtained, either under the specific commerce articles of the respective treaties, or by the comprehensive "most favored nation" clauses commonly contained therein, and which are thereby directly imperilled. This, because commercial privileges of the kind, while fully active so long as China remains in control of her own territory, become obsolete in such portions of the Empire as may thereafter be lawfully acquired by any foreign jurisdiction. In such case, the latter, within the limits so acquired, will have full power to set up its own laws and regulations, including barriers of customs and tariffs, which may be more irksome than the nominal ones now existing under Chinese rule. Thus, at Kiao Chou, the Germans, having in theory duly obtained a cession or lease of the occupied territory, will, now or later, have lawful authority to establish there a local tariff expressly designed to exclude the goods of other nations. Their present talk of creating a free port in this instance is of no purpose, because Germany may to-morrow elect to declare it a closed one, and proceed to erect around it a belt of exclusive customs.

So, too, the territory north of the Great Wall,—and perhaps Port Arthur and the Liau Tong peninsula,—when in possession of Russia, may be surrounded by a Russian tariff expressly calculated to create

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an exclusive market for her own people. Nor, in such case, will either of these Powers be open to criticism at our hands; for the United States, with her established policy of Protection, would, under similar circumstances, be obliged, logically, to take exactly this attitude.

That Kiao Chou Bay had not been designated as one of the treaty ports of China before the German seizure occurred, makes the latter's occupancy of it less acutely objectionable to others than might otherwise have been the case. But, as all the world sees clearly enough, the Germans propose ultimately to spread out farther inland, along the path of least resistance. They will thus obstruct territory which is or may be reached by the trade of other nationalities through existing or possible future Chinese treaty ports. Hence it will be seen that, *pari passu* with foreign encroachment, the local markets, which had been or might still be thrown open to other nations, within the confines of the Chinese Empire, are either threatened or obliterated.

That such a restriction of the export commerce of other nations may thus arise and extend, notwithstanding their treaty rights, would seem to need no further argument. An illustration, on an extended scale, of the manner in which a mishap of this kind has already occurred is afforded by the impenetrable ring-fence of French colonial tariffs surrounding the vast and fertile area of Indo-China, including parts of Siam. There, the doors to large and profitable market-places have been effectively and permanently shut in the face of all outsiders.

Of all the nations, England alone has uniformly followed a broad-gauge, liberal policy in respect of Chinese trade, or occupation; and it can be safely reckoned upon, that, wherever she may obtain a foothold in the Empire, all the world will be welcome to enter on equal terms with herself. The British colony of Hong Kong, acquired by cession from China in 1841, has been ever since, and will doubtless remain, wide open to the commerce of other nationalities.

Just here, one is naturally impelled to consider what attitude the United States assumes on behalf of her own Chinese export trade, which, now rapidly developing, seems destined to grow to great proportions,—provided the existing markets remain undisturbed. Having ourselves no aim or prospect of land acquirement in the Far East, we are happily relieved from the consideration of what might otherwise have an incongruous effect; viz., the carrying there of our own protective tariff practices. As it is, our position is clear and simple: We now need look only to the care of our existing trade rights which, under our various treaties with China, and particularly under the "most favored nation"

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clauses of the same, are, in that country, full and ample. Let us see, then, what our Government is doing or likely to do in this regard. As yet no evidence is forthcoming that the Washington Administration means aught else, by way of creating a safeguard for these important interests, than simply to let matters drift in happy-go-lucky fashion. It would indeed appear as if it were believed that treaty rights derived from a helpless Power, whose territory is freely open to outside absorption, are automatically self-protecting and infused with inherent force sufficient to survive any political change, however radical. Our Secretary of State is reported in the press as holding the quaint and dangerous view, that the interests of the citizens of the United States are not threatened by a possible partition of China, and that even if that empire were divided between Russia and Germany, the opening there for our goods would still remain unrestricted.

Whether or not such business interests of our seventy millions of people are in this instance misunderstood or neglected by the Government, they may perhaps be measurably safeguarded by force of circumstances. The British stand on the question of foreign interference with China's trade, must incidentally protect us, although only by a lucky chance; and, in the changing circumstances of their negotiations, their present policy may not be adhered to. Happily, some of our merchants and traders, whose important affairs are thus seriously menaced, being men of energy and foresight, and used to fend for themselves, have now sought to instigate some action at Washington, without longer waiting upon the somnolent policy of merely trusting to luck. The appeal of many of the most important firms and corporations of New York—and some of those of Philadelphia—concerned in the American export trade to China, recently laid before the New York Chamber of Commerce, has resulted in the prompt despatch by that influential body to President McKinley of a memorial which concludes as follows:

"That, in view of the danger threatening future trade development of the United States in China, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York respectfully and earnestly urge that such proper steps be taken as will commend themselves to your wisdom for the prompt and energetic defence of the existing treaty rights of our citizens in China, and for the preservation and protection of their important commercial interests in that empire."

It will be of interest to see what attitude the Administration takes on these important representations. A fitting opportunity of proper, however tardy, action is afforded in formulating the instructions to be given to our new minister, on his approaching departure for China.

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American export trade to China, the chief features of which are elementary materials like cotton and woollen goods, kerosene, flour, timber, etc., is not now of great volume, but shows steady growth and a promise of wide and rapid extension. The recent report of the Committee of the New York Chamber of Commerce on this subject gives its value as having increased from $8,117,059, in 1893, to $17,978,065 in 1897. These estimates, compiled from the returns of the Chinese treaty ports, include such merchandise only as may be directly entered, without considering trans-shipments from an intermediate foreign point, like the British colony of Hong Kong, where many of our goods find inlet to the Empire. The latter, now classified in our own trade reports among shipments for English destinations, would, if more accurately returned, greatly augment the above figures. Our trade in China will grow rapidly, even under existing conditions; but, if there should be any such awakening as would probably result from the introduction of railways and other features of material and commercial development of the country, its volume and importance would speedily become of the highest consequence to our people.

Except for the Russian expansion in Manchuria, and the French conquest of Annam and Ton-King, foreign aggression within or near China's territory has mainly concerned temporary measures, designed to create or enforce treaty rights, rather than permanent occupation of her soil, until the recent swoop of the Germans upon Kiao Chou.

The two opium wars of the British, their two occupations of the Chusan Islands, the fights at the Taku forts, and even the Anglo-French invasion of 1861, with the sack and burning of the Summer Palace at Peking, have had no lasting results, other than of the kind indicated. The great Russian movement—beginning with the absorption of the Ossouri Province, and the acquirement of the necessary rights for the navigation of the Amoor River, which were essential incidents of Russia's effort to reach the Pacific at Vladivostock—was of slow growth, and attracted but little attention, outside of China itself. The establishment of Vladivostock involved the expediency of finding a more southern harbor: but this was a matter which could wait; and to this end, the Russians have long addressed themselves with patient and untiring energy.

In the results of the recent Chino-Japanese war the Russians found their opportunity. Here, with China's utter weakness suddenly revealed to a surprised world, and with the Japanese armies at Newchwang, on an open and short road to Peking, the government of the Czar at once

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stopped the victorious advance of Japan, and thus laid the helpless Chinese under an obligation which was sufficiently great and lasting to close forever their mouths from effective protest against further Muscovite encroachment. To check the victorious Japanese, when weary of their recent campaign and relatively far from their base of supplies, was not difficult, especially when France and Germany assisted, and when England held aloof. But the vast service thus rendered to China was greatly augmented by presently helping her war-indemnity loans on the foreign—especially the French—bourses.

It was not long after these events that skilful Russian agents were found to be pervading Northern China and Corea, and that the outside world received the startling intelligence of that often denied, but now generally believed in, arrangement known as the Cassini Convention, whereby Russia appeared to have obtained full domination of the whole of Manchuria, with effective rights at Port Arthur in the commanding Liau Tong peninsula, as well as in Kiao Chou Bay.

The great clamor which arose on all sides over this revelation is well remembered. But the world seems now to have generally acquiesced in these new conditions; recognizing, perhaps, that, after all, it is right, or at least inevitable, that so great a nation as Russia should have ample and unobstructed sea-outlets in the march of her Eastern-Asiatic development. It is of the highest significance that the English—who, next to the Chinese, were here most affected—appear to take this view. We find Mr. Curzon, one of Lord Salisbury's Cabinet, in his recent Manchester speech, quoted as seeing nothing unreasonable in Russia's wanting a more southern and an ice-free port; although, from the outcry of the British press at the time the Cassini Convention was first disclosed, one would have expected each forward step of the Russians in Manchuria to be fiercely disputed by England. And now, Lord Salisbury himself follows—on the occasion of the recent presentation of the Queen's speech in Parliament—with what is tantamount to a frank acquiescence in Russian acquirement of Manchuria, and the bringing of the Trans-Siberian and Trans-Manchurian railway down to Port Arthur.

Thus, the now acute Eastern-Asiatic situation has developed slowly, under conditions which, however strained, were still quite endurable, so long as England appeared to be indifferent, China helpless, and the French and Germans otherwise occupied in jealous efforts to establish their respective *ententes* with the Czar. That a serious and growing friction between Russia and Japan on questions of Corean, as well as

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Chinese, complexion accompanied the relatively slow march of these events, was well known. It was manifest also that the Japanese had never forgotten how they were balked of the chief prize of their war with China. But the latent heat here developed bade fair to smoulder long before breaking out into a devouring flame.

Germany has greatly muddled and precipitated matters by her abrupt seizure of Kiao Chou Bay. Till then, devoid of any part of Chinese territory, and "not content to look on while other countries were dividing the world between them," nor satisfied with "merely a place in Heaven,"[1] she has thus brought her potent and disturbing presence in line with those of the other Powers who seek not only a share of China's trade, but also the ownership of China's market-places. Although much significance is attached to the general understanding before referred to, that prior Russian claims had been established at Kiao Chou, it is not yet clear whether the German Emperor had the tacit or expressed approval of the Czar in this disconcerting outbreak, or whether he merely made an impulsive grab while there yet seemed to be time. However this may be, the immediate result of the Teutonic outburst was to plunge the whole outside world into a ferment of apprehension and inquiry, which, as an unexpected consequence, may force at least the primary steps of the partition of China and which has only of late begun to quiet down, since Germany's subsequent halt, and her effort to "regularize" her violent appropriation of Chinese soil.

What is really now going on in the Far East and in the Chancelleries and Foreign Offices of the Powers concerning all these vital questions, is still shrouded in a mystery, which the cabled press-dispatches, day by day, serve to complicate rather than to clear. That Germany has taken Kiao Chou Bay, that Russia has sent her fleet to Port Arthur, that Japan now intends to hold fast at Wei-hai-wei, and that both Russia and England are struggling to force a loan upon the Chinese, may be taken as reasonably established facts. But otherwise, we find only clouds of doubt and uncertainty, from which at any moment events may emerge which may again change their aspect.

We have recently observed England's bold stand in defence of her Chinese trade, taken under circumstances which seemed on the instant

[1] *Vide* the recent speech of Herr VON BÜLOW, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the discussion of the Kiao Chou incident in the Reichstag; which utterance, coupled with the despatch of Prince Henry's vessels, should not be overlooked, when German suggestion as to her contenting herself with merely Kiao Chou Bay, and that too, as a free port, is under consideration.

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to restore the somewhat faded British prestige before the Asiatic world. Now, we learn that this stand is feebly qualified, and also, that the ingenious demand for Talien-wan as a free port—which incidentally sapped the foundations of Russia's plans concerning Port Arthur—is virtually withdrawn. Whether it be a fact or not, the mere suggestion of such a demand, coupled with the claim for other like open-trading ports, awakened a storm of Russian, French, and German protest; leaving those Powers frankly disclosed as at least not characterized by any such altruistic motives as would seek to establish ways and means for free and unobstructed outside commerce in Chinese terrritory.

That the attitude of the English thus appears to have now become less bold and striking is doubtless due to secret diplomatic bargaining, the details of which, in the absence of further light, we may only guess at. Lord Salisbury's speech above referred to would seem to indicate that those burning questions of the Talien-wan and Kiao Chou Bays are left to cool down for the present, in consequence of assurances from Russia and Germany. The Talien-wan affair is, indeed, to remain in abeyance until the completion of the railway to Port Arthur, which must in any case require a period of some years. The sparks may possibly fly later in both of these cases: but the present postponement of the final decision is, on the whole, a happy one; seeing that it makes for peace, and so, for the general good of all concerned. One point in Lord Salisbury's remarks seems worthy of special note, where our trade interests are under consideration; viz., his disclosure of the nature of the assurance given by Russia in regard to such coast outlet as may be established for the railway. If his probably carefully measured words are to be taken literally, what the Russians promise is, merely that such outlet shall always be a free port *for English commerce*,—a limitation, which obviously would not greatly benefit the United States and other outside nations. Perhaps, as would be entirely reasonable and probable, the English have grown weary of fighting alone and unassisted in the cause of open Chinese ports for us and others.

After all, why should the conditions as to authentic news reasonably be different, when, behind the veil of the pending international diplomacy, there must and can be only such secret trading and balancing between the great Powers as differ merely in degree from the like give-and-take evolutions and shiftings of ordinary commercial operations? The possibilities of war, which here accompany the negotiations, are far too awful to be really invoked or seriously counted upon, however much they may be hinted at.

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How then, can ordinary outsiders expect to be let into these secret tradings before the bargains are consummated? One may, in any case, surmise that Russia must have Port Arthur, and this, too, free from the complications about the proposed embarrassing free-port regulations at Talien-wan. For such accommodation she will probably pay any reasonable price in the shape of a balancing concession. Whether her yielding take the shape of promise of aid, or withdrawal of threats, elsewhere than in China, or whether it concerns the long and easily disturbed frontier of England's Indian Empire, the concession of the Yang-tsze Basin to the British, or the abandonment of a portion of Corea to Japan, with something in the south for France, irrespective of a sop for Germany, the outside world most probably will never know the real facts, until the deal has long been privately agreed upon.

One thing at least is clear; viz., that if such of the important Chinese trade-rights of Americans as may remain to us are to be duly safeguarded, now is the time to act, before the final deal of the cards in the great game is made. One forceful protest now, on the part of the United States, will be more useful than a volume of after-remonstrances and tardy diplomatic inquiries.

But what of unfortunate China? We have seen that it is of small avail to discuss her equities, under the adverse conditions of the *force majeure*, now confronting her; and we have ventured upon the qualified prediction that there is at present no great likelihood of her actual partition, however much the plans of foreign aggression may have progressed. But even if a formal partition were here immediately made, there would still be room enough in so great a country for the foreign nations to take their respective shares of territorial booty and yet leave full scope for an inland native empire, which would afford an ample crop of vexed questions for future generations of the white races to deal with. That these will not concern the side of militancy, at least under native inspiration or leadership, is more than probable. No great Chinese leader, who might accomplish such a miracle, has as yet appeared, nor under the cramping restrictions and jealousies of the Chinese System will one probably arise; and a population so docile, so utterly devoid of patriotism, as that of the Middle Kingdom is not likely either suddenly or effectively thus to transform the peaceful habits and characteristics which it has acquired through the thousands of years of its evolution. Still, as has been pointed out in the remarkable work of the late Prof. Pearson,[1] the Chinese, being of all known peoples the

[1] "National Life and Character," by Prof. C. H. Pearson.

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most sober, industrious, economical, and physically fit, afford ample material for an invading, perhaps a conquering, *industrial* army, which may yet scourge the wide world of the white races. That the conditions which would render this possible may find more favorable growth under the shelter of foreign control is obvious; nor should it be overlooked that, under like conditions, with foreign leadership and drill, even this eminently peaceful folk may possibly be converted into the formidable legions of a devastating war. In any event, four hundred millions of a hardy, tenacious race, destined steadily to increase, are here to be dealt with; and this circumstance presents problems which one may perhaps be excused from endeavoring to solve within the limits of a magazine article.

Whatever China's unhappy complications may be, we Americans should, and indeed are obliged to, look first at what concerns ourselves. After the fashion of mankind, and especially in view of the necessarily selfish policy which all nations must follow, it is essential to consider how our national pocket is or may be affected. In this regard, it is at least clear that we ourselves must promptly watch over and safeguard our own trade-rights in China in order to save what is left of them.

At the moment, the highly complex China Question occupies the forefront of the stage in the rapid evolution of the world-drama; but, as yet, the lights are dim and the curtain only halfway lifted. Here we must leave the unfortunate Middle Kingdom in humiliation and disaster. That thus, in its colossal weakness, it excites our sympathetic pity, may be frankly declared; but it is now wholly beyond our power to afford more tangible support or consolation.

CLARENCE CARY.

NOTE.—Since the foregoing article was prepared, it is reported (New York "Journal of Commerce," February 14, 1898) that the State Department at Washington has received assurances from Germany and Russia—presumably in regard to Kiao Chou and Talien-wan Bays—of a similar nature to those given to Great Britain. It is evident that, in our case, mere diplomatic politenesses of this character will not be fruitful of results or safeguards in the pending scramble for Chinese territory; nor will they be accompanied by any such compensating offsets or benefits in hand as the English must be obtaining in the present situation.

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BRAZIL: ITS COMMERCE AND RESOURCES.

BRAZIL extends from 5 degrees North latitude to 33 degrees South, and embraces within its territorial boundaries nearly half the continent of South America. Its length is 2,675 miles, its greatest breadth, 2,500, and its total area, about 3,261,000 square miles. It is twenty times larger than Great Britain, is only one-seventh less than all Europe, and its coast-line, upon which are situated many safe harbors and at least twenty growing commercial cities, is 4,000 miles in extent. The longitude of New York City and that of the extreme western part of Brazil are nearly identical, so that the latter country lies almost wholly east of the United States. The distance between the southern limits of Florida and the northern limits of Brazil is only twenty degrees,—about two-thirds of the distance from Chicago to San Francisco. Access to Brazil will soon be made easier to us; for satisfactory preliminary surveys have already been made in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru over the most difficult parts of the route of the proposed international railway, which will in time become the chief road of commerce between the Americas, and which will ultimately be the means of developing the marvellous resources of the Andes ranges and the Amazonian valleys and plateaus.

In view of these well-authenticated prospects open to the commercial world, it is remarkable how little the average American business man knows, not of Brazil only, but of the entire continent to the south of him. He does not realize that the link is nearly formed by which he may ride across the continent, from Valparaiso to Buenos Ayres, in a railway coach with accommodations equal to those of the best Pullman car; nor does he know of the prospective advantages of the contemplated transcontinental railway, which is to run, midway between the Amazon and the La Plata, through Bolivia to Rio de Janeiro. While seeking in the Far East for consumers of his surplus products of farm and factory, the average American overlooks the opportunities open to his enterprise and sagacity in a continent which lies, comparatively speaking, at the threshold of his factory and the gateway of his farm. At the same time, he fails utterly to realize that the United States—the

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chief consumer of South American products—is paying, by way of exchange, a vast tribute to Europe, not merely on what is taken from her nearest and most natural market for her own products, but on all she sells there. If intelligently utilized, not only would the semi-home markets of South America save to the American consumer what he now pays in exchange to his more enterprising European competitor, who has forestalled him in the exploration and development of the vast resources of the southern republics, but they would in time turn the overwhelmingly adverse balance of trade to the credit of the United States. Although this article is designed to discuss more particularly our commercial relations with Brazil, it will be in order first to refer briefly to some of the earlier influences which directed the foreign trade of that country to Europe.

It was through the medium of buccaneering expeditions that British merchants early secured considerable knowledge of the great natural resources of South America. As early as 1822, however, when Dom Pedro I was crowned Emperor of Brazil, and contemporaneously with the successes of Bolivar and San Martin in supplanting the authority of Spain in America, England was closely followed by France and Germany in the cultivation of commercial relations with the Latin-American countries. The French and the Germans drifted most naturally to imperial Brazil; thus laying the foundation for the advantages enjoyed by them in what has since become the greatest of the South American states. France, at the inception of the Empire, magnanimously and wisely provided free scholarships in her universities to Brazilians, thousands of whom were educated in her schools, and carried back to their southern homes that impress of French manners, tastes, and methods which now characterizes the Brazilian people. The Germans found their way to Brazil, first as soldiers in the ranks of Dom Pedro's imperial body-guard, and subsequently, by colonization under the patronage of Dom Pedro II. A German commercial colony in the city of Rio de Janeiro has already celebrated its seventy-sixth anniversary. Italy, Portugal, and other European countries have also large colonies in Brazil. But British merchants utilized from the first the opportunities presented for the establishment of trade, by providing storehouses for their merchandise in every commercial city; nor have they yet ceased to cater with punctilious care to the tastes and other trade requirements of the market,—the selection, manufacture, packing, and selling of their goods,—accommodating themselves always to the business methods of the country.

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At the establishment of the Empire, and for many years subsequently,—as long as the merchant marine of the United States occupied the first place in the carrying trade of the world,—American goods were in fair demand, and growing more popular as they became better known. Later, however, the manufacturers of New York and New England, satisfied apparently with the nearer home market, lapsed into indifference, disregarded the demands of merchants who supplied the South American markets, and surrendered the field to their European competitors. To-day, the leading commercial city of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, with a population of nearly 750,000 souls, contains but one strictly American mercantile house supported by any considerable amount of capital. In the entire republic, with a population of 16,000,000, only two such houses exist. The American colony, registered, numbers probably 1,500, embracing a few coffee buyers (agents only), farmers, clerks, mechanics, dentists, and other professional men scattered over the country; while the British, French, German, Portuguese, and Spanish colonies number respectively, in the order named, many thousand inhabitants; representing hundreds of millions of dollars placed in mercantile, banking, mining, transportation, and other pursuits which yield remunerative dividends.

We thus see that the late changes in Brazil's government wrought no change in our relations with that country. A republic, representing twenty States, was proclaimed on November 15, 1889. A federal constitution, similar to that of the United States, was adopted on February 24, 1891. It makes the union of the States perpetual, and confers the suffrage upon all citizens over twenty-one years of age, except beggars, those who cannot read, soldiers in service, and members of Orders (monastic) owing first allegiance to foreign Powers. It institutes civil marriage, secures freedom of worship, and provides for free primary education. The power to levy duties on imports and on shipping, to establish banks of issue, and to control postal and telegraphic communication is reserved to the national government. The first president, Deodoro da Fonseca, resigned in 1891. He was succeeded by Floriano Peixoto, under whose able administration the naval revolt of 1893-4—the first and only effort to reëstablish the Empire—was completely suppressed.

That the Republic, thus governed, is a country of vast natural resources, cannot be questioned. The great variety of soil and climate embraced in its territory adapts it to the cultivation of all the products of the temperate and torrid zones; and of two of these products—coffee

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and india-rubber—it has almost a monopoly. This gives its resources a wonderful elasticity that enables the country to tide over successfully the severest crises and to bear burdens that would be intolerable to a country less favored by nature. When one part of it shows signs of exhaustion, another comes to the rescue; thus preventing any decline in production.

Alison says that, were Brazil as well peopled as France, it would contain 320,000,000 inhabitants, or 60,000,000 more than all Europe west of the Ural Mountains; and, notwithstanding the great amount of this population, such are the agricultural resources that there can be no doubt that it is much less than could be maintained with comfort on its territories.

In addition to its strictly agricultural resources—at the present time the most interesting consideration to commerce—Brazil has forests which abound in valuable timbers, dyewoods, gums, resins, fibres, medicinal plants, and spices; below the surface of the soil lie almost inexhaustible stores of minerals of infinite variety; some of its immense plains are admirably adapted to stock-breeding; and its waters contain fish that contribute materially to the support of its population.

The greater part of this wealth is as yet unavailable; but it is to be hoped that the day is not far distant when population, capital, and cheap transportation will serve to unlock the treasure-house and thus aid in swelling the commerce of the world. I believe that even now Brazil offers many good openings to energy and enterprise, if properly guided by administrative capacity and duly supported by capital. It is obvious, in particular, that a large number of energetic and intelligent Americans engaged in industrial pursuits in Brazil would have an enormous influence in developing the natural resources, and, consequently, in increasing the purchasing power of the country, as well as in directing trade toward the United States.

Taking now a closer view of Brazil's resources, we find that nearly all the twenty States produce more or less coffee,—particularly Rio de Janeiro, Espirito Santo, Minas Geraes, and São Paulo. The latter is the coffee State *par excellence*. The principal ports of export for this product are Rio de Janeiro, Santos, and Victoria. The latter—the capital of Espirito Santo—is a promising city, destined ultimately to share honors with the new port of Macahe as an outlet for the products of Minas Geraes. From the State of Espirito Santo about 600,000 bags of coffee were exported last year. In the seven years, from 1887 to 1894, the Rio and Santos crops of coffee amounted in the aggregate to

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39,905,000 bags. Within the last few years many thousands of young trees have begun to bear; and the coffee crop of São Paulo alone for 1896–97 was estimated at 4,500,000 bags. It is officially stated that the value of the coffee crop of São Paulo for the year 1895–96 was about $5,900,000. An estimate made last year showed that the total number of coffee-bearing trees in the State of São Paulo was 350,000,000, which, at an average of 2½ milreis each, represented a total value of $170,000,000 at the current value of the milreis.

Dumont—one of the most notable plantations in Brazil—was sold last year to an English syndicate for the round sum of £1,200,000. The estate contains 110,000 acres of the best lands in the State of São Paulo. The coffee area covers 13,000 acres, and contains 4,426,604 trees from two to twelve years old; 2,500,000 being less than six years old. For the year 1895, the profits are certified, by an eminent firm of London chartered accountants, at £127,453; and those for the current year are estimated at £142,000. The accountants valued the estate at £1,300,000. It is connected with the Mogyana Railway by a private line sixteen miles long. It contains twenty-four settlements of colonists, comprising eight hundred families,—nearly all Italians,—who live in three hundred and thirty-four houses, of which two hundred and seventy-three are brick. But, although the Dumont estate, because of the value of its improvements and of its annual production, is considered the most important, it is not the largest coffee plantation in São Paulo. This distinction is claimed by the plantation of Palmeiras, which is nearly forty miles long and thirty miles wide at its extreme points, and contains over 300,000 acres of land.

The next important portion of Brazil is the renowned Amazon region, which abounds in undeveloped resources, vast in extent, and embraces the rubber district. There is probably more American capital invested in this section than in any other locality; and the development of its industries has already placed india-rubber second among the staples of export from Brazil. The State of Amazonas, with an area of 732,350 square miles,—nearly twice as large as the original Thirteen States of our Union,—is the chief source of supply. It contains a population estimated at only 300,000, of which Manaos, the capital, has about 20,000. The climate, according to a recent authority, although it is hot and damp in the low, swampy lands through which flow the rivers Branco, Negro, Japura, and Madeira, is dry and healthy in the high lands and in the western part of the State. The temperature in the shade ranges from 80° to 90° in the hot season;

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but the heat is moderated by the great forests, by the river floods, by the rainfall from December to June, and by the strong summer winds. Marsh fevers prevail in the low, swampy lands bordering certain rivers, particularly at the commencement of the flood and reflux of the Amazon and its tributaries; but no other form of endemic disease exists. There are no railways in the State; the rivers affording the best means of transportation. The Booth Steamship Company owns a line of steamers running from Manaos to New York. Products of the State, other than india-rubber, are numerous and valuable, especially the woods, which are of great variety and excellent quality. An American company recently completed a telegraph line connecting Manaos with Belem or Para,—the capital of the State of Para and the chief commercial city of northern Brazil,—situated on the delta of the Amazon 1,100 miles from Manaos. It has a population of 100,000, and about 2,500 industrial and commercial establishments. The rivers of the Amazonas are navigated by several hundred steamers sailing under the Brazilian flag. These vessels conduct the local and coast traffic; while the trade with the United States and Liverpool is carried by British steamers twenty-six in number. It is believed that a good opening exists for extending the steamship accommodations; and investigation would no doubt show the feasibility of establishing a line of steamers covering all the Brazilian ports of entry, at least as far south as Rio de Janeiro.

Sugar and cotton are staple commodities in the States of Pernambuco, Bahia, Alagoas, Sergipe, and Parahiba. At various periods, cotton, which is cultivated to advantage on the coast-line from the Amazon to Rio, has been largely exported; but now it is in the main consumed by the numerous cotton-mills of the country, which produce low grades of goods only, and are quite remunerative. Several of the most important of these factories are located at Petropolis, the capital of the State of Rio de Janeiro, which is situated about 3,000 feet above the sea-level. It is reached by a cog railroad, which makes the necessary ascent in a distance of four miles. Up this heavy grade, all the raw material consumed by the factories is conveyed; the advantages of the location being chiefly water-power and the beautiful climate. The Cachoeira cotton factory in Alagoas, which has been in operation for three years, is said to have paid in the first year a dividend of 48 per cent, in the second year 50 per cent, and in the third year 40 per cent. It has 480 operatives, and produced in 1895–96 122,783 pieces of cotton cloth, which sold at a profit of 315,526 milreis ($63,105). The

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machinery cost 364,445 milreis; the factory buildings, 192,000 milreis; the 124 houses for operatives, 51,000 milreis; and the whole enterprise is protected by an export duty on raw cotton and by heavy import duties on cotton fabrics. Although the consumption of oil is very large in the Republic, no cotton-seed-oil factories have yet been established.

I have already said that the woods of Brazil are not the least important among its varied resources. On the Amazon and its tributaries, and in other sections of the country there are dense forests of hard and soft woods adapted to ornamental and practical use in the manufacture of furniture, trimmings, and other commodities, as well as in house- and ship-building. Dyewoods are found in the States of Amazonas, Para, Maranhão, Ceara, Parahiba, Pernambuco, Alagoas, Sergipe, Bahia, and Goyaz. "Brazil," which is the principal dyewood exported, is put on board ship at Bahia at a cost of about one cent a pound.

There are many other woods of great value, but the most wonderful of all, from a single tree of which an enormous quantity of clear lumber is said to be obtained, is the carnahuba palm (*Copernicia ceriferi*), which grows uncultivated in the States of Parahiba, Ceara, Rio Grande do Norte, Piauhi, and some of the neighboring States. The descriptions given of it to me seem incredible. Perhaps in no other region is a tree to be found that can be employed for such varied and useful purposes. It resists intense and protracted droughts, and is always green and vigorous. Its roots produce the same medicinal effects as sarsaparilla. Its stem affords strong, light fibres, which acquire a beautiful lustre, and serves also for joists, rafters, and other building materials, as well as for stakes for fences. From parts of the tree wine and vinegar are made. It yields also a saccharine substance, as well as a starch resembling sago. In periods of famine, caused by protracted droughts, the nutritious substances obtained from it are of immense benefit to the poorer classes. Its fruit is used for feeding cattle. The pulp has an agreeable taste; and the nut, which is oleaginous and emulsive, is sometimes used as a substitute for coffee. Of the wood of the stem musical instruments, water-tubes, and pumps are made. The pith is an excellent substitute for cork. From the stem a white liquid, similar to the milk of the cocoanut, and a flour resembling maizena may be extracted. Of the straw, hats, baskets, brooms, and mats are made. A considerable quantity of this straw is shipped to Europe; and a part of it returns to Brazil manufactured into hats. The straw is also used for thatching houses. Moreover, salt is extracted from it, and likewise

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an alkali used in the manufacture of common soap. But from an industrial and commercial point of view, the most valuable product of the carnahuba tree is the wax obtained from its leaves. From this wax, candles are made, which are extensively used in the northern Brazilian States. Some twenty years ago the State of Ceara annually exported about 1,500,000 kilos (3,306,900 pounds) of carnahuba wax; and the home consumption was estimated at 850,000 kilos (1,873,910 pounds) per annum. In two municipal districts of Rio Grande do Norte, a sufficient quantity was produced to supply the demands of home consumption and leave a surplus of 300,000 kilos (661,000 pounds) for exportation. The declared value of the exportations of carnahuba wax to the United States last year was $210,347.

In Santa Catherina, south of Rio de Janeiro, there are forests of *Araucaria braziliensis*, the wood of which, resembling our fir, produces resin, turpentine, and other similar products; while its ashes are rich in potash and soda. There are also dense masses of timber in Minas Geraes. The forests of Espirito Santo, which adjoin the State of Rio de Janeiro on the north, are remarkable for the variety and abundance of their valuable woods. Besides the rosewood, they include the peroba, much used in ship-building and cabinet-work; one variety being spotted with bright yellow, and the gerapopo, a very elastic wood of a lilac color. The catalogue, "Indice general dos Madeiras do Brazil," mentions 22,000 species of woods found in the valley of the Amazon alone. But these great forests of woods, valuable to commerce, are not at present accessible. They cannot be utilized for want of capital to develop them. Though many of the Brazilian cabinet and hard woods would be valuable in exchange for the southern pine we are now sending to Rio, chiefly from Pensacola and Brunswick, they are not to be found, for the reasons above stated, in these or any other markets.

Mining is another promising industry still in the infancy of development. The most important gold explorations are those in the State of Minas Geraes. At Morro Velho the St. John del Rey Gold-Mining Company, an English corporation, has worked for more than fifty years a vein of arsenical pyrites, which is the best kind of quartz found in Brazil. Water being plentiful, the only motive power used is hydraulic. Other minerals, more or less valuable, from diamonds to coal, abound, in great variety, in all sections of the country; but, next in order to Minas Geraes, Bahia is probably the most important mining State. One of the oldest mines in that State is Oro do Morro de Fogo (Gold Mine of Fire Mountain) which was worked more than a hundred

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years ago. During the Portuguese rule, a tax was levied by the crown, the records of which show that an aggregate of about 65 arrobas (2,000 pounds) was paid into the treasury, making a corresponding output of probably 20,000 pounds of gold extracted from this mine before the independence of Brazil. It has been extensively worked since, though the deepest shaft is not over 75 feet. At this depth the operations were obstructed by water; and no effort has been made to go deeper. The Momonos placer diggings, in the same district and on the same belt (free and very coarse gold), are still being worked. The richest and most important mines now in use are situated in the Serra do Assurna district, about 150 miles west from Jacobinas. These mines, according to the report of the United States consul at Bahia, yield the purest gold, mostly in nuggets. Placer mining of the most primitive sort is practised; the miners using a common hoe and a wooden wash-pan. They dig out loose quartz rock imbedded in red clay, pound them, and then wash them in the pan.

Turning now from the chief industries of Brazil to its natural features, we must admit that, although the unchanging verdure covering its surface from mountain-top to sea-shore is strikingly beautiful, its unparalleled river system is the most wonderful feature of that marvellously endowed country. A glance at the lines marking the courses of the great Amazon, with its confluents on the north, and of the Paraguay, with its countless tributaries on the south, convinces one of the immense growth of population and wealth that would follow an intelligent development of the lands through which they flow. These navigable waterways, running in different directions from the plains of Matto Grosso to the Atlantic seaboard, symbolize a double cornucopia pouring the abundant resources of the plains and valleys fertilized by the affluents of the Amazon, Paraguay, and Parana into the lap of international commerce. It has been stated that by means of a small canal,—which the Portuguese attempted to cut in the last century,—a flat-bottomed boat might pass from the mouth of the La Plata at Buenos Ayres to Para at the mouth of the Amazon through the rivers of this unique system. There is also a great central waterway, the São Francisco, rising in the State of Minas Geraes and emptying into the Atlantic at a point midway between Bahia and Pernambuco. This river has a wonderful waterfall, which, in the quantity of water passing over the rapids, is said to rival Niagara itself. From the sea to the falls, it is navigated by ocean steamers; and above the falls, for hundreds of miles, by river steamers. The Parana, the main stream of the southern system,

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is navigable by ocean steamers up to the falls of Guayra, and the Paraguay for over 2,000 miles, by steamers from Montevideo. In speaking of such mighty streams one naturally omits to mention many rivers larger than the Ohio. But one cannot afford to overlook the fact that, besides the advantages they yield for purposes of irrigation and transportation, these rivers of Brazil are inviting to the development of manufacturing industries, by the possession of an unharnessed force equal to, if not exceeding, the mighty power of Niagara, recently put to practical use.

The length of the Amazon in Brazil is 2,335 miles; but as it also penetrates 1,210 miles into Peru, its total length is 3,545 miles. Its tributaries flowing from the lofty ranges of the Andes are navigable for a distance aggregating 26,858 miles. Besides the national product, india-rubber, the products of neighboring republics, mostly those of Peru, pass down a branch of the Amazon to Manaos, in transit to the United States and Europe—a fact worth noting in connection with the feasibility of a traffic route from the Pacific to the Atlantic *via* the Amazon.

The Brazilian government pays annually in subsidies nearly an equal amount to river and ocean navigation; and the latter would no doubt be increased in order to guarantee an American line of steamships between the United States and Brazilian ports, in which trade there are now many foreign ships engaged, but none of American register.

Foreign vessels entered at the port of Rio de Janeiro during the year 1895 (the latest available data) showed an aggregate of 679 British, 164 German, 159 French, 120 Italian, 135 Swedish and Norwegian, and 51 American. Including other nationalities, the total entries for the year numbered 1,460 vessels, of 2,243,103 tons. The American loss for the year over the previous season was 12 ships, measuring 19,388 tons, while the British gain was 130 ships, measuring 71,059 tons. The share that the British flag took in the carrying trade of Rio de Janeiro that year was 54 per cent, while that covered by the American flag for all the ports of Brazil was less than 4 per cent of the aggregate tonnage of the single port of Rio. In 1859, American vessels carried 63.8 per cent of the imports into the United States and 70 per cent of the exports from the United States to foreign countries. In 1895, American vessels carried 15.5 per cent of the imports into and only 8.2 per cent of the exports from our country. What a travesty on American shipping the above figures present; and how plainly they mark the necessity for rehabilitating the American merchant marine! Some people, however, are hard to convince.

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When asked why the New York merchants did not arrange for a line of steamers to Brazil and the River La Plata, an American capitalist once answered that it would not pay; and he went on to observe that there was no money in ocean-transportation lines, and that the people of the United States were wise in allowing England to conduct the commerce of the seas at a loss. Now let us see if this holds true with regard to Brazil.

England, France, Germany, and Italy have not one line, but several steamship lines each, plying regularly to Brazilian ports; and each nation is continually increasing and improving the service of its lines. Does anybody suppose that they would increase the number and build first-class ships especially for that service if it did not pay? The Royal Mail Packet steamers run from Southampton to Buenos Ayres, where they connect with other steamers for the Pacific ports; the Hamburg and South American line from Hamburg to Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul; the French line from Bordeaux to Buenos Ayres; two Italian lines from Genoa and Naples to Buenos Ayres; the Pacific Steam Navigation line from Liverpool to Valparaiso.

All these lines give regular service. According to the annual report of the Hamburg and South American Steam Navigation Company, great progress has been made toward replacing the smaller boats of 2,000 to 2,500 tons carrying capacity, with old compound engines, by large, modern steamers of 5,000 to 6,000 tons capacity, having triple and quadruple cylinder engines. The directors decided to distribute out of the profits of last year's working the sum of 459,375 marks as a 7 per cent dividend. This is about the same amount as the previous year's distribution, at a 12 per cent dividend; the capital being at that time only half the present amount. The net profits for the past year amounted to 2,703,812 marks ($643,552). These figures speak for themselves.

We may now consider the general railway system of Brazil, which is devised on an elaborate and intelligent plan, and furnishes every facility, in conjunction with the navigation of the great waterways, for the development of the natural resources of the country and for its strategic defence. By means of the services of the Department of Industry and of the Inspector-General of Railways, the government exercises fiscal authority over all the roads, the principal one of which, the Central, has 1,164 kilometres under traffic, and does a very large and increasing business. Besides this trunk line, the government operates eight other lines, aggregating in all 2,825 kilometres—about 1,788 miles,—which, at the end of December, 1894, showed a deficit of

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11,118,477 milreis, of which the Central's share was 1,113,724 milreis. The latter line is embraced in the termini of the proposed inter-continental railway system entering Brazil on the Bolivian border at Corumba. In addition to the government roads, there are one hundred and twenty-eight railways, covering a distance of 8,672 kilometres (5,576 miles), which are owned and operated by private companies. One of these—the Santos and Jundiahy—owned and operated by an English company, the São Paulo Railway, Limited, covering 139 kilometres (85 miles), is said to be the best-managed and best-paying railway in the country. The aggregate cost of the nine State-controlled railways has been estimated at 288,118,193 milreis. In 1895, £828,501 9s 9d was paid in London on account of guaranteed interest for subsidized roads.

It is proposed to lease the government roads for the maximum period of ninety years, and that the minimum amount to be paid shall be £14,000,000 ($67,131,000), of which £8,000,000 ($38,932,000) shall be paid in cash and the remainder at the end of one year; the money thus received by the government to be applied exclusively to the redemption of paper money. The Central, the main artery of the railway system of the country, as now conducted, gives employment to 15,000 persons; but it is believed to be possible to operate it upon a better system with one-third that number of employees. Certainly it would be an immense advantage to our commercial relations with Brazil for an American syndicate to take over this road.

With regard to population, we find that during the year 1895 the number of immigrants arriving in Brazil was 164,371, two-thirds of whom were Italians and Portuguese; the former being in excess of the latter probably at the rate of 2 to 1. These immigrants are not of the type most desirable for the intelligent development of an agricultural country. They came as laborers of the lowest class in connection with immigration contracts. There are no public lands at the disposal of the federal government to be offered as an inducement to immigrants under preëmption or homestead laws such as exist in the United States. Brazil's marvellously rich natural resources afford every opportunity for men of enterprise and means, who can wait for returns on intelligent investments.

The physical constitution and habits of North Americans, Englishmen, and others of similar type do not qualify them for self-depending agricultural pursuits in the *tropical* States of Brazil, because of the trying climate. There are, however, more favorable localities in the

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middle States, especially in the coffee-producing districts of São Paulo, Minas Geraes, Rio de Janeiro, and adjacent States, and below the tropic line, in the States of Parana, Santa Catharina, and Rio Grande do Sul, which have a variable climate similar to that of our Southern States, and offer millions of unoccupied acres, where Anglo-Saxon colonies, intelligently planted, would prosper. Reliable statistics show that the latter are the best States for diversified farming and stock-raising, such as our people are accustomed to.

I must draw my paper to a close with the gratifying statement that Brazil is doing well under her republican government. The abolition of slavery, followed almost immediately by a radical change in the entire system of administration, produced, of course, many antagonisms; and difficulties have necessarily arisen in the administration of federal and State laws which it will take time to abate. Still, it is generally conceded that under the new order the States, as sovereign Powers managing their own affairs, are in a better condition socially and financially than they were as dependent provinces under the Empire.

It was hardly to be expected that a radical change in the government of a great nation could be effected without engendering friction and dissension. In my opinion, however, notwithstanding the recent attempted violence against the President and the reports of a turbulent character following that dastardly assault, there is no organized party of monarchists now in Brazil; nor is there likely to be at any future time one strong enough to overthrow the existing form of government. The latter is as heartily supported by the overwhelming sentiment of the people as it is by intelligently governed State organizations composing the Federal Union.

Since the suppression of the revolutionary movement led by Admirals Mello and Da Gama in 1893–94, two political parties have been formed,—one, conservative in character, supporting the administration of President Prudente de Moraes, and the other radically opposed to the harmonizing policy of that statesman. No vital principle seems to be involved in the differences characterizing these parties. They sprang from a contention in Congress between the executive and legislative branches of the government, on questions of executive policy only, none of which is of a very serious character. It is simply a division into party factions, similar to the political organizations in the United States. Each of the parties is thoroughly republican in sentiment, and the permanency of the Republic is in no wise endangered.

THOMAS L. THOMPSON.

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ENGLAND AND EGYPT.

THE pacific mood of Europe has been again severely tested by events in the Near East.

We have seen a Christian nationality, under European protection, abandoned to the ruthless ruler whose word is a law unto himself, and whose law is a byword among the nations. With compassionate hearts, but averted eyes, we have permitted the massacre of thousands of our coreligionists, under circumstances of almost incredible barbarity; salving our consciences with protests that lack unanimity, and with threats that cannot be enforced. The danger of a European war has paralyzed our manhood and absolved our pledges of honor.

Even the champion of persecuted nationalities, the mother-nation of freedom, whose queen but recently received the homage of the world and the adulation of her subjects, has been forced to repudiate her world-mission, for fear of precipitating a struggle which all foresee, but none dare challenge.

It has been left for a minor Power, the foster-mother of European civilization, Greece, to cast aside all considerations of prudence, and boldly to enter the lists—although on another quarrel—against the Mohammedan oppressor. In the absence of allies, the result of the campaign was inevitable. But one issue may not have been foreseen: The invading army, by its humane conduct and discipline in the field, has rehabilitated Turkey as a neighbor of Christian Europe. The virility of the Ottoman Empire, at least as a fighting machine, has been again vindicated.

Thus, if the Powers succeed in pacifying the Near East, the partition of Turkey may be postponed to an indefinite period.

The Egyptian Problem, which is so closely associated with the Eastern Question, may consequently demand a solution and be settled on its own merits. The fall of the Ottoman Empire would inevitably leave Egypt in the hand that now holds it in an iron grasp the strength of which is masked by the velvet glove of diplomacy. The annexation of Egypt at the present day by a European Power would amount to a matter of money and prestige merely, so far as Turkey is concerned,

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although its effect upon the final settlement of the Eastern Question would be as great as in the years to come.

At Constantinople, the rival Powers are Great Britain and Russia; at Cairo, Great Britain and France. The other Powers play a subordinate part. Great Britain is openly opposed to the Dual Alliance in the settlement of the Eastern Question. But for the colonial aspirations of Germany, the dominant partner of the Triple Alliance, a *modus vivendi* might be established between the Mistress of the Seas and the Central Powers of Europe; since Germany has no vital interests in the Mediterranean, and the interests of Italy and Austria-Hungary do not clash with British policy within that strategic area. Germany, however, has assumed a hostile attitude, under the ægis of a heaven-sent Emperor; and in any case the policy of the British Empire is opposed to formal alliances.

The possession of Constantinople by Russia would concern Great Britain as much as, but no more than, the other European Powers, or at least no more than those striving for mastery in the Mediterranean; but the occupation of Egypt by any other great Power might ultimately involve the loss of Britain's Indian Empire.

Egypt is the chief nodal point on the world's highway. Its destiny has always been, and will continue to be, controlled by the leading maritime Power in the Mediterranean. In the past, its geographical position has condemned it to be a foot-note to European history; and now-a-days, from the same cause, it is but a stepping-stone to European conquests in the Far East. For the practical purposes of political domination, it is an island, surrounded either by pitiless deserts or by water-highways open only to the Mistress of the Seas; and as an island, politically speaking, it naturally falls a prey to the dominant maritime Power of the day. Great Britain, therefore, can never evacuate Egypt, except under conditions which, so far, have been proved incapable of realization, or at the risk of imperilling her maritime supremacy. Consequently, the Powers in whose interests it lies to dispute the command of the sea with Great Britain must necessarily be opposed to British domination in Egypt.

The logical sequence of this argument places Great Britain in rivalry with the Dual Alliance. But nobody believes that France would go to war with her for the possession of Egypt, or that Russia would be prepared to support such an extreme measure, except under conditions in which this question was subordinate to wider issues. The present European equilibrium, therefore, would appear to suggest the adhesion of

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Great Britain to the group of Powers which gave her the possession of Egypt as the price of her support; but, since all are committed to the maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as the fundamental principle of the concert, such a solution, apart from the known desire of Great Britain to avoid alliances, is neither practicable nor desirable.

If it rested alone with the protectoral Power in Egypt, none but a natural solution of the Egyptian Question would be attempted. It is obviously in the interests of Great Britain to maintain the *status quo*. For all strategic purposes, Egypt is fulfilling the function of a British possession; and, as regards commerce, Britain already enjoys a monopoly resulting from open competition. But her rivals in Egypt and the Soudan will not leave her alone. They foresee the inevitable destiny marked out for themselves by the teaching of history and experience. They know that a nation can never stand still without suffering atrophy of its functions, but must ever press forward from conquest to conquest. Russia, herself, is the most remarkable example of this natural law. France, too, recognizes it, in her zeal to regain a colonial empire; and Germany is its latest exponent. In the hands, therefore, of the greatest colonial Power of these or any other times, Egypt must necessarily tread in the path of progress; she must reacquire the territories which she lost by mismanagement when left to herself; and must establish her dominion over the unity of the Nile Basin. If she fail to do this, she will be at the mercy of any European Power commanding the Upper Nile Valley; since Egypt has been created by the Nile and is fed by it.

This, then, is the danger that now threatens Egypt, and is likely to precipitate a solution of the Egyptian Question. The rival action of certain European Powers in the Nile Valley has sent the Egyptian army—prematurely and not without risks, both financial and military—into the Soudan on a path of conquest that may ultimately prove to be beyond its strength, without the necessary means to consolidate its victories. If the protectoral Power have to provide men and money for the reconquest and pacification of the Soudan, her hold on Egypt will be immeasurably strengthened, and the tenure of her guardianship indefinitely extended. Can the Egyptian army, without the aid of British troops, break up the Khalifa's power, reoccupy Khartoum, and pacify the wild tribes of the Soudan? Can the Egyptian government, with the funds at its disposal, pay the bill? Can Egyptians be trusted to create order out of chaos and to administer the Soudan, when, even in Lower Egypt, European control is necessary? And, finally, will it pay? These questions, of vital importance to Egypt, must now be answered.

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The Egyptian Question has a twofold aspect—internal and external. The internal conditions are associated with the postulate, that Egypt shall "stand alone," that is to say, be capable of self-government and of maintaining her political integrity. Could Egypt stand alone at the present day, there would be no Egyptian Question as generally understood, though there might be one in the Soudan. The external conditions apply to the problem, now being solved before our eyes, as to who shall eventually dominate the Nile Valley.

All authorities agree in the verdict that, without European control of some kind, Egypt would quickly relapse into anarchy. Some would even now prefer a dual or, perhaps, an international control—both of which have been tried and found wanting. On the other hand, British control has succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations. Patriotic Egyptians very naturally wish to control themselves. Led by the young Khedive, whose lack of self-control is conspicuous, they are inimical to both the French and the English factions, but with a difference. As Tigrane Pasha put it to me, "Egyptian sympathies are more with the English than with the French. The French are too intolerant and meddlesome. In fact, the English have always had a predominant influence in Egypt. They are at least generous. Occasionally, crumbs do fall from the table of the Englishman; but none come from the French; and on the Italian table there are no crumbs at all." What he and other Nationalists complain about is, that the English system of control does not protect Egypt against the extortion of foreign rivalries. That is perfectly true. But consider for a moment the fetters with which Egypt and the protectoral Power are bound. What is the actual political situation in Egypt?

When I was in Egypt, "the situation" was constantly coming up for discussion between myself and those who favored me with their confidence. One day I constructed the diagram which appears on the next page. This diagram seems to me to embody every element of weight in the political situation, and to illustrate more graphically and convincingly than the most elaborate thesis how susceptible the Egyptian administrative machine is to any disturbance of its equilibrium.

We here see the Egyptian government in a state of just poise; and we have only to imagine some of its constituent factors subject to agitation in order to realize the see-saw of Egyptian politics. The correlation of its component parts, on either side of the centre of oscillation, is as nearly as possible accurate; and though it is impossible, in a diagram of this kind, to represent the relative weight of each (even if one

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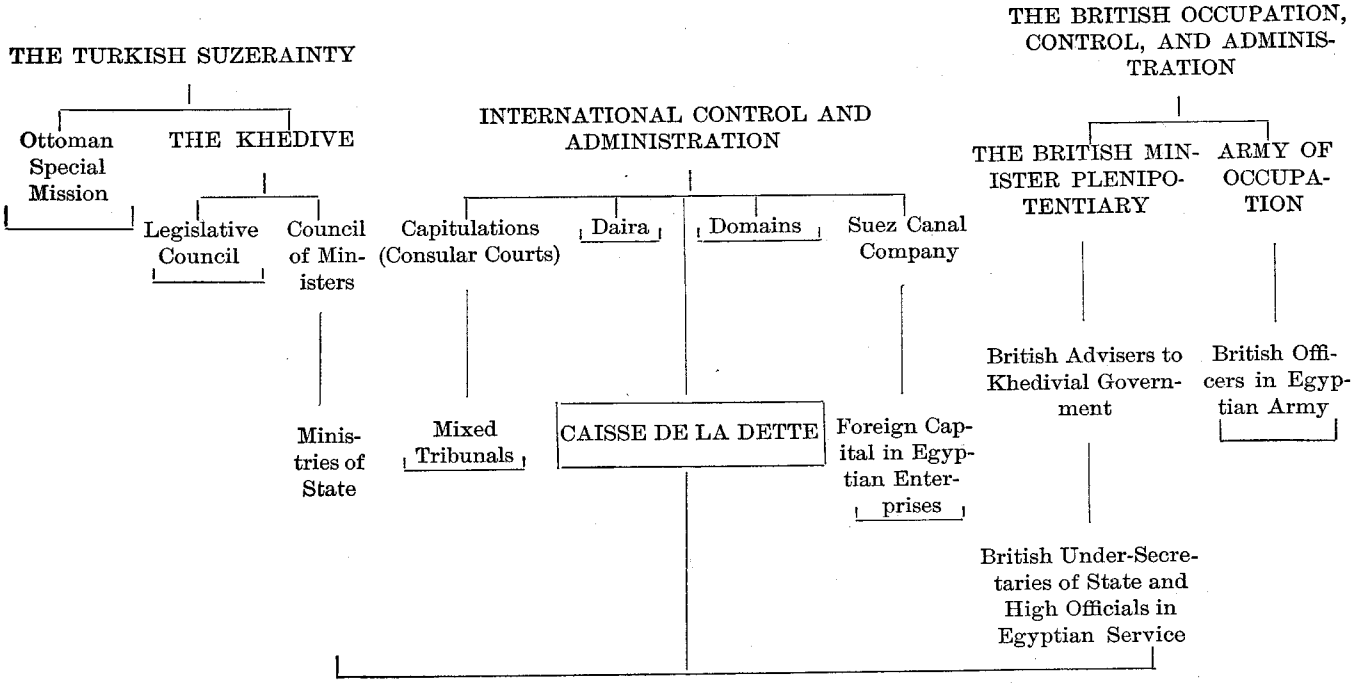
THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN EGYPT.



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could make such an estimate), the machine, as constructed, may be supposed to balance. The central position of the *Caisse de la Dette*, and its consequent capacity to disturb or restore the balance of political factors in the Egyptian situation, will be noted. In all respects but one, the principle of this illustration holds good. The exception is obvious in the outlying pendants of this machine. If you knock away the "Ottoman Special Mission" and the "Legislative Council," the balance of power would scarcely be disturbed; but if you remove the British "Army of Occupation" and the "British Officers in the Egyptian Army," the voice of the British Agent and Minister Plenipotentiary would be as "of one crying in the wilderness."

In spite of the equivocal position of the protectoral Power, Lord Cromer would be quite able to control the situation in Egypt if he were to receive at all times the full support of Her Majesty's government. But the British Foreign Office has not the courage of its convictions. In all vital matters, its support is given without hesitation,—we had almost said, without inquiry,—so greatly is Lord Cromer trusted as the *deus ex machina*. But, under the complex conditions of British foreign policy, it often happens that the situation in other parts of the world precludes any pressure being applied for the promotion of Egyptian interests, when these are opposed by France. Under such circumstances, Egypt has to wait; and under any circumstances she has to pay. Though Her Majesty's government may be convinced of the importance of certain reforms, these cannot always be pushed at an inopportune moment. To an outsider it might appear that the complaisance of France was more important than the need of Egypt,—except, as I have said, in matters of vital consequence. In the end, of course, all necessary reforms are carried out, no matter what may be the opposition of France; but the constant friction, intrigues, and the anomalous conditions that prevail are very prejudicial and burdensome to Egypt. All the Powers squeeze *bakhshish* out of that distracted country; and they will continue to do so, so long as there are Capitulations, international posts, duplication of offices, and general uncertainty regarding the future. If Great Britain were given a free hand, all, or most, of these abuses would be swept away, and a considerable saving result to the Egyptian exchequer. As things are, however, it requires the greatest tact on the part of Lord Cromer to avoid offending French susceptibilities by any action that may bear the construction or even the appearance of nepotism. To govern Egypt is an easy matter; but to satisfy France is a Sisyphean task.

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The policy of France in Egypt is that of the Opposition in the English Parliament—to oppose. Under the circumstances, such an attitude may be understood. But French opposition is too often carried to the point of obstruction in blocking legislation or the passage into law of special humanitarian and financial measures against which no fault can be found except that they are, it may be, British proposals. And since in Egypt, as elsewhere, most measures involve a question of money, France utilizes her position and her backing in the *Caisse de la Dette* to obstruct legislation whenever it seemeth good unto her. Finance being the basis of Egyptian prosperity and independence, it follows that the *Caisse de la Dette* becomes, at times, an *imperium in imperio*, and on its good-will, rather than on its strict sense of justice, depends the adoption of proposals requiring its sanction. Sometimes the *Caisse* is in a complaisant mood, and grants readily enough the surplus funds at its disposal; but should this not be the case, or should some extra-political motive exist, no measure, however humane, however necessary for the welfare of Egypt, has a chance of being passed. Perhaps the most inexcusable instance of this obstruction was the persistent opposition of France to the abolition of the *corvée*. Sir Alfred Milner tells us, that "it took three mortal years to get France to give anything more than a provisional sanction to the arrangement. French diplomacy," he adds, bitterly, "was not above keeping Egypt in suspense about this vital matter, in order to bring pressure to bear upon her government for the concession of some rather shabby demands about the pay and position of certain French officials."

This is only a single instance. Many others might be cited: in particular, the opposition of France to that most urgent of all needed reforms—the right of Egypt to dispose of her own surplus. But it is sufficient to illustrate the fact, that France utilizes her position in Egypt to advance her own ends and to obstruct legislation. By opposing measures which, all are agreed, would benefit Egypt and not endanger the interests of the bondholders, she simply prolongs the British occupation, against which she inveighs with uplifted hands. If, as she sometimes asserts, Egypt can "stand alone," why does she not propose the abolition of the Consular Courts? Why does she not conclude a commercial treaty with Egypt? And why does she require a postal service of her own? But to attempt to argue with France would be as fruitless as to reason with an angry woman. France is angry because she is angry. She does not like to see England in Egypt, and she does not want to take England's place; but she does want to exercise polit-

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ical domination without accepting the responsibilities of guardianship.

The grouping of the Great Powers in Egyptian politics is that which obtains elsewhere in diplomatic circles, subject to local conditions. Russia follows the lead of France, though not always willingly; Germany makes political capital out of the "open sore" between France and Great Britain; Austria-Hungary and Italy are benevolent opportunists; and the United States of America watch their humanitarian and commercial interests without concerning themselves with the balance of power. In effect, the struggle for domination is between France and Great Britain alone; since the suzerainty of the Sultan is merely a diplomatic fiction, religiously upheld by the protectoral Power. The hostility of the Khedive, serious as it now is, would practically cease to exist if Great Britain accepted the responsibility of a protectorate. One-man rule is the only possible government for Oriental countries, in which force takes the place of popular institutions; whilst disputed power gives an opening to intrigue. The young Egyptian party has no standing and no influence; but the hostility of the Khedive himself constitutes a menace to law and order, of which he is the nominal head. Some day he may go too far, and be removed, as Ismail was removed, for the good of his country; for if he were to have his way, and Great Britain were to abandon her task in Egypt, a state of anarchy would supervene, and His Highness would be the first to suffer.

That the task of Great Britain in Egypt has been performed with success, and marked by signal unselfishness on her part, requires no proof in this article. Out of financial ruin and political chaos she has built up a new Egypt. There has been a gain to everyone, and not least to the bondholders. Nevertheless, the relative share of Great Britain in the volume of Egypt's external commerce has declined from 57 to 54 per cent. The secret of her success is hard work and honest and capable administration. If her pledges of evacuation cannot now be fufilled, it is because the hopes entertained at the time those pledges were made have not been realized, and because the obstruction of France has been inimical to rapid development. She is not open to the charge of bad faith. Witness the Drummond-Wolff Convention, by which, ten years ago, Great Britain undertook to withdraw her Army of Occupation after a period of three years; reserving to herself the right of reëntry under certain legitimate circumstances. This convention Turkey would have ratified, but for French intervention. Circumstances have altered a good deal since then. Under the process of regeneration, the standard of Egypt's independence has undoubtedly been raised, so that few ex-

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pect that she can ever attain unto it. Experience has taught, however, that a weak Egypt would soon relapse into a state of anarchy, and that another twenty years would not be too long a period to fix for her final emancipation from European control. What are twenty, or even fifty, years in the life of a nation? It would, doubtless, be safe to say that it would take even longer than that time to inculcate the principles of honesty in the administration of an Oriental country and to train up a new governing class to replace the Turkish taskmasters. The Egyptians themselves are totally lacking in initiative and in the habits of command; and the Pasha class, who have these qualities cultivated to a predatory extent, cannot throw off their pashadom. Education in Egypt is a vehicle not so much for cultivating the mind and training good citizens as for the manufacture of government clerks *en masse;* and as the supply exceeds the demand, we find, as in India, a good deal of intelligence diverted into useless or mischievous channels. In a word, the regeneration of Egypt must proceed normally and circumspectly, if she is ever to "stand alone," without artificial or alien support.

This brief outline of the internal situation must suffice. If Egypt were capable of self-government, and able to offer guarantees of her power and capacity to maintain her complete independence and political integrity, the British Army of Occupation might safely evacuate the country. Her financial relations with Europe are, however, too intimate and far-reaching to enable her to escape from the fetters of international control; and until this situation is relieved, her political independence will always be at the mercy of her financial stability. France participates too closely in the general prosperity of Egypt, to risk the promotion of any adventurous schemes of political upheaval; and the European bondholders are too well satisfied with the results of British occupation to condone such a step. The 4-per-cent Unified Debt, which before the occupation was quoted at 27, and on the occupation, at a little over 50, now stands at nearly 106; and the amount of Egypt's available income has risen from one-third to over one-half. The five millions resulting from economies of the conversion of the Debt might be profitably invested in the development of Egypt: but France has locked up that surplus; and it cannot be touched without her consent. Nevertheless, says Sir Alfred Milner,

"for every pound, by which the government exceeds the 'authorized' expenditure, it has to raise two pounds in taxation. Let this fact be well grasped; for it is a central principle of Egyptian finance. . . . It is evident, therefore, that for every extra £ E 100 required for administrative needs, the country must pay £ E 200 in taxation,—the other £ E 100 going to the reduction of the Debt."

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The only natural solution of the Egyptian Question,—so far as the internal situation is concerned,—and certainly the best and most profitable for Egypt, would be for Great Britain herself, as the responsible protectoral Power, to guarantee the entire Egyptian debt. There would be no financial risk, either to the guarantor or to the bondholders, in the acceptance of this responsibility; provided, Great Britain were given a free hand in Egypt. But, in effect, this would amount to a recognized British protectorate; and, consequently, it is not likely to meet with the approval of France. The alternative is to accept the present equivocal situation and to prepare for an indefinite extension of the British occupation.

That such an extension is inevitable, I now purpose to explain. In the end,—judging from the French annexation of Tunis, an analogous case,—it will probably amount to the same thing, whether Great Britain receive the mandate of Europe, or whether she drift from a masked to an open protectorate over Egypt. The annexation of Egypt by Great Britain is, in my opinion, merely a matter of time and opportunity: it is the logical sequence of the present situation, and is in full accord with the principles of English colonial expansion. Great Britain must dominate the Nile Valley, in virtue of her position as the tutelary Power in Egypt, and for strategic reasons of her own.

In the year 1882, Egypt, under the suzerainty of Turkey, possessed exclusive rights of sovereignty throughout the Nile Valley, as far south as Wadelai and Fauvera. Egyptian garrisons were established in Kordofan, Dar Fur, the Bahr-el-Ghazal, on the Red Sea littoral between Suakin and Massowa, on the Gulf of Aden at Zeila and Berbera, and at Harar. But the revolt of the Soudanese tribes, under the leadership of a false Mahdi, destroyed every vestige of Egyptian rule in the Nile Valley, except in Emin Pasha's province (Hat-el-Estiva).

Great Britain, who in 1882 had occupied Lower Egypt,—with the tacit consent of the Powers and of Turkey,—for the purpose of restoring the authority of the Khedive, after the Arabi revolt had been crushed by her, forced Egypt in 1884 to abandon the Soudan, and herself undertook a costly expedition for the relief of the Khartoum garrison. Great Britain thereby made herself responsible for the reëstablishment of Egypt's sovereign rights over the Soudan; and her own sacrifices, which were considerable, entitle her to any advantages accruing from her position as the tutelary Power.

It is unnecessary to examine the various international acts by which France, Italy, and Great Britain acquired possession of the territories

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and islands they now occupy in and around the southern entrance of the Red Sea, or to narrate the course of events which led Great Britain to assume a protectorate over Uganda and the adjacent countries. The lapse of Egyptian sovereign rights and the peculiar circumstances of the case are responsible for this situation, the legitimacy of which, as a question of international law, is guaranteed by Article XXXIV of the General Act of the Berlin Conference (1884-5), and by the mutual conventions, treaties, etc., which regulate it.

The boundaries of Egypt were confirmed by the Sultan's *firman* of investiture granted to the present Khedive in 1892; a supplementary telegram including the Sinai peninsula. The sovereign rights of Egypt and the principle of Turkish suzerainty have been faithfully upheld by the protectoral Power in Egypt. They are not contested, in principle, by the Powers engaged and concerned in the partition of Africa; but encroachments of a questionably legitimate character have undoubtedly taken place. Great Britain herself forms no exception to this charge. Her so-called lease of the Bahr-el-Ghazal to the King of the Belgians in 1894 was certainly an action open to misconstruction, and gave France a plausible excuse for the advance she was then making into the Upper Nile basin. Any such arrangement should have been made in the name of Egypt alone.

Unquestionably, Great Britain has shown her hand too openly in her manifest desire to exercise, directly or indirectly, exclusive political domination in the Nile Valley; and it is not surprising that France should seek to thwart her ambitions. The result of this rivalry is, that Egypt is prematurely committed to the reconquest of the Soudan, and, consequently, will require material support from Great Britain. In the "North American Review" for September, 1896, I claimed to have established, by documentary evidence, the true, as opposed to the ostensible, motives of this precipitate campaign, the order for which came direct from Downing Street without previous consultation with the Egyptian authorities. Bold initiative and craven timidity are characteristic features of British policy in Egypt.

To Egypt, herself, it is a matter of vital importance that no first-class Power, other than Great Britain, whose interests are identical, should secure a footing in the Upper Nile basin. Apart from the menacing military situation, any European Power on the Upper Nile might tamper with the water-supply of Egypt, by establishing extensive irrigation works. It would not be possible to dam the White Nile in flood; but this could be done easily enough in the summer, even by a temporary

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dam to hold up the water, with the result that the *Sefi* cultivation in Lower Egypt would suffer disastrously. As it is, Egypt has only just sufficient irrigation for the cotton crop; and the failure of her water-supply would bring ruin to the country. A hostile Power might also partially divert the course of the Atbara; but, as Egypt receives her chief alluvial deposits from the Blue Nile, this risk is not a serious one. For these and other obvious reasons, it is clear, therefore, that the friendship of Abyssinia is of great importance to Egypt.

Now the friendship of Abyssinia is being eagerly courted by France and Russia. For the last six years, this courtship has been going on under the guise of religious confraternity and mutual esteem. France openly supported Abyssinia in her conflict with Italy; and, after the disaster to Italian arms at Adua in 1896, Great Britain sent the Egyptian army into the Soudan with the avowed purpose of diverting the attention of the Dervishes, who were supposed to be hanging about with the felonious intent of swooping down on Kassala and other positions occupied by Italy. As a matter of fact, this move was a mere pretext for an advance into the Soudan, the true object of which was to re-establish Egyptian sovereignty by driving the Dervishes out of the chief strategic positions in the Soudan. This campaign has met with remarkable success.

The question naturally arises: Why should the British taxpayer fight Egypt's battles? It is morally certain that the *quid pro quo* will in future be exacted, though it was generously waived after Tel-el-Kebir. The reoccupation of Khartoum by an Anglo-Egyptian army would pave the way to the declaration of a British protectorate over Egypt and the Soudan.

The Province of Dongola is valueless to Egypt, so long as it is open to Dervish raids. South of Berber, the Nile Valley is a desert. But, with Anglo-Egyptian rule firmly established at Khartoum, a new era of prosperity would dawn on the Soudan. The Khalifa and his Baggaras would seek safety in flight, if they survived the downfall of Omdurman, and would be harmless enough in the deserts of Kordofan, because the other tribes would quickly rally to the standard of the conqueror. The work of pacification, of reconstruction, of administration, will, however, be a colossal and costly task, quite beyond the powers and resources of Egypt under her present dispensation, hampered as she is at every turn by the hostility of France. Some relaxation of the existing tension must be introduced, lest history repeat itself, and Egypt be again involved in disasters in the Soudan. Everything,

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in short, points to the assumption by Great Britain of increased, even uncontrolled, powers over the destiny of Egypt. The logic of events will prove stronger than self-denying ordinances; and the pacific opposition of France cannot stay it.

Personally, I have never shared the fears, so sedulously cultivated by the press, of either France or the Congo States being able, from their distant bases on the West Coast, to establish and maintain even the feeblest kind of administration in the basin of the Upper Nile; but that will not deter them from setting up paper-rights over this region,—an adventure in which both have been engaged for several years past. More effective for offensive purposes would be the coöperation of Abyssinia in any schemes of French aggression: but the present Negus, Menelik, is a shrewd statesman; and the British mission to his country a year ago must have convinced him of the wisdom of maintaining peaceful relations with Egypt and the protectoral Power. The Abyssinians, having a blood-feud with the Dervishes, will never coöperate with these, their natural enemies; whilst the restoration of law and order in the Soudan will be Abyssinia's opportunity to reap the fruits of her latest victories.

Under whatever aspect we regard the Egyptian Question, therefore, we are forced to the conclusion that its solution rests with Great Britain; and on her courage and capacity to deal with the situation must depend the measure and extent of her success. The time for complacent drifting is past: the moment of action is at hand. Success must bring responsibilities of almost unlimited extent; but defeat would be the first blow struck at Britain's maritime supremacy, upon which her existence as an empire is based.

A. Silva White.

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SOME RECENT MUNICIPAL GAS HISTORY.

THE trend of public opinion in favor of municipal ownership and operation of electric-light- and gas-plants is unmistakable. At the recent convention of American mayors, at Columbus, Ohio, it was one of the chief topics of discussion; and interviews in the public press indicated that the majority of those attending the convention were in favor of public ownership. In December, 1896, at the convention of the American Federation of Labor, representing directly about half a million trade-unionists, and indirectly many more, the following resolution was adopted, with scarcely any opposition:—

"Whereas, The influences of corporations, holding or seeking to obtain possession of public franchises, are among the most potent influences antagonistic to reformative measures, and the most active cause of corruption in politics and of mismanagement and extravagance in public administration; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the sixteenth annual convention of the American Federation of Labor urges upon all the members of affiliated bodies that they use every possible effort to assist in the substitution, in all public utilities—municipal, State, and national—that are in the nature of monopolies, of public ownership for corporate and private control."

Trade papers, run in the interest of their chief patrons,—the managers of private works,—such as the two leading gas journals of America, viz., the "Progressive Age" and the "Gas Light Journal," by the space they devote to the discussion of this question, show its growing importance.

The lease of the Philadelphia gas-works, for thirty years, to a private company, last November, after fifty-six years of public ownership and operation, is so important a chapter in the history of this movement as to demand chief attention at present.

Briefly, the facts of the case are these: The works were inefficiently managed under public ownership; and the lease offers considerable financial benefits to the city for the next few years. But the people of Philadelphia were already beginning to see the need of better management. The very week before the Councils leased the works, the people, by a great majority, voted $1,000,000 for improvements of the gas-works.

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That they would have voted more, if a larger appropriation had been desired by the Councils, is indicated by the fact that they voted the same day $11,200,000 for the improvement of the water-works, school-houses, and other public works. This appropriation, joined to the increased popular interest in the gas-works, and the growth of sentiment in favor of municipal reform, promised, in the course of five or ten years, still better results than are offered by the lease. The Councils, last November, voted down a resolution to submit the question of a lease to popular vote, which, it was generally believed, would have been overwhelmingly adverse to the lease. This same governing body, by accepting what was clearly far from the best lease that was offered, proved how little was the value of its own opinion on any question relating to the gas-works. Other wealthy and responsible bidders offered lower prices and more bonus to the city, while otherwise exactly duplicating the offer of the United Gas Improvement Company.

The lease should be studied, then, not as evidence of the deliberate turning of the city against city ownership of a great monopoly,—which it was not,—but as a striking lesson of the benumbing effects on public ownership of its mixture with private ownership, as has been true for ten years; and a lesson, further, of the difficulties that city ownership must face in this country by reason of the "spoils" system, and the readiness of the masses to follow those party bosses and "leading citizens" who fatten on the demoralizing relations between weak or corrupt government and immensely valuable franchises, when in private hands.

According to the published reports of the Philadelphia Gas Department, the cash profit, in 1896, was nearly $89,000. To the expenses, however, should be added about $281,000 for omitted items, such as the expense for water, for lighting, extinguishing, and repairing street lamps, and for collecting gas bills. There should also be added an allowance for depreciation, estimated by that competent authority, Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, at $276,500. On the other hand, there should be deducted, first, $118,000 spent for new meters and services,—wrongly classed by the Department under "Operating Expenses,"—and, second, $505,000, the value, at 75 cents per thousand feet, of the gas used by the city on the streets and in public buildings. The true surplus of the city was about $150,000. This, however, would have been turned into a deficit of about $200,000, if the city instead of buying 40 per cent of its gas in the holder, at the high price of 37 cents per thousand feet, from a branch of the present lessees, had itself made the gas at the exorbitant cost of about 55 cents, at which it made 60 per cent of the supply.

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The superintendent of the best of the three city-operated plants has made the startling statement to the writer that the cost in his plant was only 27 cents; and he explained how commonly labor was employed, at the other plants, through political influence.

In contrast with this, the successful lessees, on receiving the present city plant rent free for thirty years, agree to retain only 90 cents per thousand feet for all gas sold during the next ten years, 85 cents during the following five years, 80 cents during the next five years, and 75 cents during the last ten years of the lease. The Councils may, however, fix the price at any higher amount not exceeding $1, and turn the difference into the city treasury.

The lessees also agree to light the streets free of charge, to spend $15,000,000 in improving the plant, and at the end of the thirty years, to return the plant to the city, without charge, although doubtless in a considerably depreciated state. On the assumption that the increase of population and the growing use of gas for fuel purposes will augment the total output in the next thirty years nearly five-fold, as it did in the last thirty years, a reserve fund set aside of less than 10 cents per thousand feet of annual output will cover these obligations of the Company. Minor details, such as an impracticable provision for resumption of city control at the end of ten years, may be here omitted.

It is promised that the quality of the gas shall be improved to 22-candle power. But the average of the gas at the time it leaves the works is nearly that now; an old and inadequate distributing system being responsible for poor light in many homes. There is reported, at present, an appalling amount of leakage, viz., about 22 per cent; while in good companies this loss is usually from 6 to 12 per cent. But some of the best authorities on this subject reject as absurd the possibility of so great a leakage without an odor in the streets so offensive as to be at once noticeable. They believe that there is no such leakage, but that probably a large number of the meters have become worthless from long service. In one city an apparent leakage account of 35 per cent was reduced recently to 7 per cent, merely by putting in correct meters. Of course the Philadelphia gas consumers would not relish a rise of 12 per cent in their gas bills, such as new meters under the new company might involve; and, if such be the result, the city will have to be credited with much less cost, both to itself and the consumer, for every thousand feet of gas really delivered than has been inferred from the city reports.

The gas-works have been handicapped, partly by unbusiness-like methods in the purchase of supplies, but chiefly by the failure of the

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Councils to improve the works as fast as the mass of the voters and the needs of the plant demanded, and by the influence of the spoils system. In respect of the latter, some interesting facts are at hand. Mr. William K. Park, Chief of the Bureau of Gas, testified before the examining committee of the Pennsylvania Senate, December, 1896, that all gas employees made contributions to the Director of Public Works, and that, from time to time, some of the men were appointed or removed by the Director for political reasons. The men he recommended for discharge as the least efficient were not always the ones dismissed when the force was reduced in the summer seasons. Side by side with this remarkable confession, however, should be placed the equally startling statement, to the same committee, by William H. Gartley, Engineer and Superintendent of the Philadelphia Gas Improvement Company,—a branch of the United Improvement Company, and the maker, during the last ten years, of about one-third of the gas delivered in the city mains. He said he was over-run with applicants recommended by councilmen. To men with such endorsements he did not profess to give steady work. He merely took as many as were needed, with the understanding that, even if found to be good workmen, they would not be kept more than three months. The majority were inefficient, and were dismissed at the end of an hour. After employing four or five men endorsed by one councilman, those endorsed by another were taken. "In that way we oblige as many [councilmen] as we can. We oblige them as often as we can. . . . Our favors are distributed."

With the spoils system to weaken the efficiency of the plant, with the councilmen indebted to a private corporation for favors, it is easy to understand why the works have been surrendered. It is also easy to believe that the works will continue to be in politics as much as ever. Yet the majority of Philadelphians, and the great Reform organizations of that city—such as the Municipal League and the Citizens' Municipal Association—decidedly preferred the continuance of public ownership and operation for the following reasons:

(1) Under city ownership the price of gas had declined in Philadelphia and elsewhere, in the last twenty-one years, at a much faster rate than it can decline, under the new lease, during the next thirty years. The fall from 1875 to 1896, in Philadelphia, was from $2.30 to $1.00. In Richmond, Virginia, it was from $3 to $1; in Birmingham, England, from 75 cents to 53 cents (£1 = $4.86); in Manchester, England, from 89 cents to 55 cents; and in Glasgow, Scotland, from $1.13 to 53 cents.

(2) The People's Gas Light and Coke Company, one of the leading

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Chicago companies prior to the recent consolidation, filed a statement with the New York Stock Exchange in 1893, declaring, over the signatures of its officials, that the entire cost of delivering gas to the consumer in 1892, including taxes but not profit, was 43 cents per thousand feet,—or rather they gave figures from which this computation is easily made. There is evidence at hand that the cost in some large cities is under 40 cents to-day, and that it is certain to become still less in the next few years. If Philadelphia had retained her gas-works and reformed her administration, she might have hoped to equal these results. Indeed, a responsible gas engineer, Col. John I. Rogers, had agreed, in case the city would permit him to erect a water-gas-plant for sale to the municipality, that he would charge nothing for it, if it did not produce 22-candle-power gas for less than 25 cents a thousand feet in the holder; and there is abundant evidence at hand that 10 to 15 cents should cover all expenses of distribution.

(3) During the last fifty-three years the price of gas had been lower in Philadelphia under public ownership than in New York under private ownership, save for three years in the sixties and the eight years preceding 1894. A considerable reduction was forced on the New York gas companies in 1886 by Act of Legislature. Yet out of the net cash receipts, Philadelphia had entirely paid for her works, not to speak of all the free gas used on the streets and in public buildings. Even the contract just made with the private lessees would not have been within the reach of Philadelphia, had the city not retained, during all these years, the control of its plant; and the vast superiority of the terms recently offered to the city over those that the same lessees offered in 1887—when they sought a long contract, with the price throughout the period at $1.50—was good proof of the wisdom of holding on to the plant.

(4) It was generally believed that the unwillingness of the Councils to improve the works was due to their opinion,—and that of the ward bosses back of them,—that more profit would come to them through deals with the United Gas Improvement Company, which was yearly supplying an increasing quantity of gas in the city holders, than through building up the city plant. Not very long ago the Councils refused to give demanded appropriations to the Gas Department; while they insisted upon appropriating much more money for another department than, in the opinion of its chief, could be wisely used. The "Progressive Age" thus remarked editorially, in its issue of December 16, 1895:—

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"The most strenuous efforts of the most unscrupulous machine element in the politics of that city [Philadelphia] have been directed *not* toward the retention of the gas-works under municipal ownership and control, as being the policy of greatest pecuniary advantage [and therefore sole interest] to the office-holders, but toward the sale of the gas-works again into private ownership."

Cities that own their water-works and electric-light-plants are usually very liberal and far-sighted in their appropriations for improvements and extensions. When Syracuse, New York, for example, bought out its private water-works two or three years ago, it proceeded at once to increase greatly their size and efficiency.

(5) It was feared that the demand for good government, on the part of both rich and poor, would be weakened by the surrender of the works. The lessees were known to have been closely identified with the street-railway and electric-light companies, whose influence in keeping the politics of the city corrupt is famous throughout the nation. A former director of the Department of Public Works of Philadelphia, now a prominent banker there, when asked which exercised the most corrupting influence upon the city government, the public-owned gas-works or the private-owned street-railways, replied at once: "Why, the street-railways. They own us."

The Honorable Wayne MacVeagh, in a public address during the discussion of the lease, said deliberately:—

"Every man who votes for this ordinance will go through the rest of his life with the brand on his forehead, bribed by the rich to rob the poor."

The well-known citizen, Henry C. Lea, wrote, during this same period:—

"It would appear superfluous to discuss any proposition save that of the United Gas Improvement Company, for the influence in Councils of the gentlemen concerned in this corporation has been too often manifested for us to suppose that rival offers will be successful,"

—a prediction verified, as we have seen, by the results.

The Philadelphia "Ledger," although it had been somewhat friendly to the lease, showed its belief in the influences leading to the surrender of the works when it inserted editorially the following, after one branch of the city government had already approved the lease:—

"Select Council should not, by emulating the lower branch, show a like example of contempt for the provident, decorous, and proper laws and usages of legislative procedure; thereby creating and fostering suspicion in the public mind that a majority of its members can be influenced by motives which will not admit of convincing explanation and which cannot be effectively defended."

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"City and State," thus remarked, in its issue of November 15, 1897:—

"Many of our wealthy citizens gave large donations to the defeat of Bryanism last year. We did what we could to the same end in the columns of 'City and State'; for we believed that free silver was a serious financial error, and that Mr. Bryan was a very crude and unsuitable mind to guide the executive action of the country. But we also felt sure that Mr. Bryan would not have had the immense following of nearly half the voters of the country if it were not that he gave voice to popular discontent with very serious wrongs and abuses existing in this country. We refer especially to the unscrupulous use of corporate wealth, acting through political machines on our legislative bodies. Bryanism was a crude and dangerous protest against the exceedingly ripe and much more dangerous corruption. The maintenance of that corruption will insure the continuance, and perhaps the triumph, of Bryanism in the future. The exhibition which Philadelphia has recently enjoyed in the passage of the gas-lease ordinance through Councils, is fully illustrative of the way in which corporate wealth often seeks to gain its object. The United Gas Improvement Company has presented a vivid object-lesson of one of the main causes of the power of William Jennings Bryan."

Very striking was the fruitless protest of the Municipal League to the Mayor, just before he confessed incompetence by signing the lease:—

"If the recent discussions should have satisfied you that there are incompetent or superfluous officials or employés, you can remove them; if there is a conspiracy of mining and transportation companies to secure excessive prices for coal, no one is in a better position to expose and defeat it than yourself; if Councils should refuse to make necessary appropriations or to sell the Ninth Ward works, or to stop the purchase of water-gas, it is in your power to present the facts to them and to the people in a way that would soon lead to a different result; if the works are in politics, you can take them out of politics at any moment by enforcing the letter and spirit of the civil service provisions of the Bullitt Bill; and we may add in this connection that no one knows better than yourself that if Mr. Dolan [President of the United Gas Improvement Company] and his friends should obtain the control of our gas-works the latter would become a more dominant and corrupting factor in our politics than they have hitherto been.

Under these circumstances it seems to us that the audacity of these gentlemen, in expecting you to admit that you are incompetent to perform the duties for which you were elected, could hardly have been greater if they had been capable of imagining that you were a man whose honor and self-respect could be bought and sold in a public market.

The consummation of the proposed lease would be a confession to all the world that the government of the city, which you have so often and so eloquently praised, is so lacking in honesty or intelligence that it cannot manage its own gas-supply, and that, while other cities are going forward, Philadelphia is going backward in the path of municipal progress, and degenerating, instead of advancing toward a purer, stronger, and more efficient local government, and toward a more generally interested and active citizenship."

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Emboldened by their success with the gas-works, prominent Philadelphians are now trying to secure the water-works; and the Councils are pursuing their old policy of first crippling the works. For either keeping what they have, or getting more, the people will be driven to place in their State constitutions the referendum and the imperative mandate.

A reference to public ownership of gas-works elsewhere will be in place here. Richmond, Virginia, a city of 80,000 population in 1890, has owned and operated its gas-works since 1852. In 1896, the net cost of its mixed coal-and-water-gas of 20.3 candle-power was 65 cents, and in 1897 only 57 cents, aside from depreciation and such taxes as a private company would have to pay. These two items might add 14 cents. It is unnecessary to add even a fair interest charge, or say 15 cents more, because the plant has long ago paid for itself from net earnings.

The same facts may be put in another way by saying that, although less fortunately placed than most cities, as regards a market for coal, oil, and residuals, Richmond secured a good profit, in 1897, by selling about 180,000,000 feet of gas to private consumers at $1 a thousand feet. After expending from earnings $4,624.54 for extensions, and using, free of cost, in streets and public buildings, over 10,000,000 feet, the city had left in cash over $66,000.

The 80,000,000 feet of coal-gas and the 133,000,000 feet of water-gas cost, in the holder, for manufacturing, repairs, and general maintenance, 18⅓ cents per thousand feet, aside from 24 cents, the net cost of coal and oil. The best private companies making as large a proportion of water-gas, and with the same total output, would probably have reduced the above item for labor, repairs, and general maintenance to 12 or 13 cents,—partly through the payment of lower wages to common labor. But such private companies would probably have had distribution and leakage expenses quite as high as the 14.7 cents at Richmond, and would have charged the consumer much more than the total cost at Richmond, even after due allowance had been made for depreciation, taxes, and interest, and a few minor expenses, such as water and office rent, not included in the above figures.

The city of Hamilton, Ohio, since building its own plant in 1890, has amply covered expenses by selling gas at $1 a thousand feet, although the private company previously in possession of the field was charging $2 a thousand feet. During the twelve months ending November 1, 1897, when a mixed oil-and-water-gas was sold at 80 cents, the

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operating expenses were only 38 cents for each thousand of the 38,000,000 feet at the burner; and a fair allowance for taxes, depreciation, a few needed repairs, and even 5 per cent interest on the cost of the plant, would raise the above cost to the selling price of only 80 cents.

Bellefontaine, Ohio, with a consumption of 16,000,000 feet of excellent 24 candle-power water-gas in 1896, had an expense of only 58 cents, aside from depreciation, of, say, 7 cents. No taxes or interest had to be paid. While selling its gas for illuminating purposes at $1.25, this small, but progressive, city finds it profitable to encourage the sale of the same gas for fuel purposes for 50 cents, and is steadily reducing the cost of manufacture.

Charlottesville and Danville, Virginia, have had the best of success with their gas-works since 1876. Fredericksburg, Virginia, was able, on assuming public ownership, in 1891, to sell its gas at $1.50; while the people had been paying $3.00 per thousand feet to a private company. Success seems also to be attending the small gas-plants established in 1894 in Middleborough and Wakefield, Massachusetts, as well as in Henderson, Kentucky, which began public ownership in 1867. Wheeling, West Virginia, which established its plant in 1870, has for years been selling its gas for 75 cents a thousand feet. Its operating expenses, which average from 40 to 50 cents, might be considerably reduced by a reduction in labor force and by certain improvements; yet it does not seem likely that any private plant would do as well by the people as does the public plant.

Most of these gas-plants were started years ago in cities where the spoils system was well intrenched. In Wheeling and Alexandria the expenses are probably higher than they would be under more efficient management, and, possibly, with less of politics in the former city. It would not be surprising if the gas interests should make a tremendous effort to undermine public ownership in some of the cities of Virginia and Ohio. Thus far, however, the people in all these places have been almost unanimous for a continuance of public ownership; and, judging by the higher prices paid in other cities of the same section of the country, where there is private ownership, the people have good grounds for their preferences. So pleased have the people been with public ownership of gas-works, that in most of these cities public operation of electric-light-plants is being tried with increasing satisfaction.

With regard to English and Scotch cities, there is at hand conclusive evidence that public ownership means even a lower cost of operation and more efficient service—as well as lower prices to the consumer, or

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larger revenue to the community—than is afforded by private ownership.

John W. Field, an English statistician, issues yearly an analysis of all the items of cost of gas-making in the following nine cities and towns that own their plants; viz., Birmingham, Bolton, Carlisle, Leicester, Manchester, Nottingham, Oldham, Salford, and Glasgow. Similar information is given regarding the private gas companies at the following eleven cities and towns: Bath, Brighton, Bristol, Derby, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Plymouth, Portsea, Rochester, Sheffield, and Dublin. As Mr. Field, for some reason, makes a separate analysis of Glasgow and Dublin, we will follow him, and confine our attention to the other private and public companies, although the inclusion of Glasgow and Dublin would make the comparison still more favorable to city ownership.

It appears from the analysis that although eight of the public-owned plants made gas of about 1½ more candle-power on the average than the ten private companies, obtained 27 per cent less per bushel for their coke,—which is sold by gas-works as a by-product,—and made a larger allowance for taxes, they, nevertheless, had a total expense account of only 20.01d., or about 40 cents, per thousand feet, as contrasted with 20.24d., or about 40.5 cents, in the private companies. This superior showing, slight as it is, becomes significant when its causes are noted. It was made possible not only by a lower price for raw material,—the average cost of this item in the public works having been 13.28d. and in the private works 13.59d.,—but also and chiefly by the greater efficiency of their labor force, due, presumably, to better machinery. Again, in the public companies there were no salaries of directors to pay. The labor and salary cost per thousand feet for putting gas in the holder at the works was 20.3 per cent less in the public than in the private companies, being 4.7d. per thousand feet in the one and 5.9d. in the other. Further, the distribution expenses were 9 per cent less in the public-owned plants than in the private companies, being 4.53d., or about 9.06 cents, in the former cities and 4.98d., or about 9.96 cents, in the latter. Part of the lessened cost of distribution in the public-owned works, despite the larger taxes, was due to the fact that the gas used at the works and that unaccounted for through leakage and condensation was in the private companies 7.85 per cent, and in the public companies 6.8 per cent, or about five-sixths as much.

In view of the claim, too often well founded, that in America economies of operation are not so well secured in public as in private ownership of natural monopolies, this evidence of a contrary character from

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England is encouraging. To be sure, to a moderate extent, cities may well give shorter hours and better wages than private corporations. Even where operating expenses under public ownership are unduly swelled, it does not follow that either consumer, or municipality, would be better off under private ownership. But, of course, no body of citizens ought to tolerate such extreme mismanagement as has attended a few city plants of various kinds in America.

There is no reason why American cities should not have equal success in public ownership of lighting-plants with that existing across the water, as soon as our people are as anxious to have such success. As long, however, as the so called "leading citizens" of our cities prefer to do their "leading" in the direction of their private interests, as involved in valuable franchises, and so long as the rest of the community are not prepared to take the leadership into their own hands, just so long will the present corrupting relationship between private-owned franchises of enormous value, on the one hand, and city and State government, on the other, continue to exist.

As Dr. Albert Shaw has indicated, it takes a more honest and efficient government to make contracts with the private owners of valuable city franchises, and to enforce those contracts when made, than it does to put down the spoilsmen and secure a generally efficient administration of public-owned monopolies. In the former case, the self-interest of a large portion of our millionaires is arrayed against proper regulation, because these wealthy and very influential and able men are either owners of the stocks and bonds of these monopolies, or are interested in banking and trust companies which handle their securities. Under public ownership, the self-interest of these same prominent people will be more directly aroused as taxpayers, in putting down the spoilsmen and securing honest administration.

EDWARD W. BEMIS.

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ORGAN MUSIC AND ORGAN-PLAYING.

WHILE the organ is a very ancient instrument,—a Pan's pipe with a bellows attachment was probably its most primitive form,—I doubt if legitimate organ music can be said to have existed before Andrea Gabrieli, an Italian born in 1510, and his nephew, Giovanni Gabrieli, who were the first composers of the fugal form. But the school of organ music thus auspiciously founded in Italy soon fell into decadence. Indeed, after Frescobaldi,—the immediate successor of the Gabrielis,—who created the florid, brilliant style of composition and playing, and was, in his day, as much an object of suspicion as was Wagner three centuries later, there were, until we come down to the present day, few Italian organ composers worth mentioning, except Padre Martini. The Padre composed twelve remarkable organ sonatas, in one of which occurs the popular gavotte, almost universally known at the present day as a pianoforte solo.

A number of Italian organists are now making a praiseworthy effort to restore the Italian school of organ composition and playing to its old-time preëminence. The most prominent among these are Filippo Capocci of Rome, who has composed four excellent sonatas, besides many other pieces for the organ; Enrico Bossi, author of several capital organ pieces; and Signor Tebaldini. These musicians, in striving to cultivate a taste for a better class of organ music and a higher style of playing, have had more than popular indifference to overcome; for the defects in the instruments upon which they are obliged to play make their task a peculiarly difficult one. It is really a discouraging fact that most of the Italian organs lack many of the appliances necessary to the performance of elaborate organ music. The fault lies with the Italian organists who succeeded the early masters. They did not develop the legitimate style of organ-playing or organ composition.

Instead of carrying forward the polyphonic school, they regarded the organ merely as an instrument for the accompaniment of the voice. The general lack of interest in instrumental music in Italy diverted Italian organists from upbuilding and developing the school of the Gabrielis and of Frescobaldi. As, under such conditions, Italian organ

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music did not call for more elaborate organs, and Italian organists took but little interest in their instruments, organ-builders had no incentive to progress.

As a result, the stops in many Italian organs of to-day are divided as in an ordinary harmonium,—separate rows for the treble and the bass,—so that, to draw them, both hands have to be used at once. This, of course, greatly impedes the player. The pedal-boards, also, of Italian organs are very deficient; the pedals being so short that the player has to reach out for them with his toes.

Twelve years ago I was invited to play in Genoa by Signor Remondini, who, though not a professional musician, was one of the leaders in reforming organ-building and organ music in Italy. I found among the organists of Genoa a general impression that it was impossible to play Bach and Mendelssohn on the organ; and when I told them that I played Bach's fugues upon organs constructed after the plans of Signor Remondini, their surprise was great. In fact, it was so apparent, that I requested them to call for any one of Bach's fugues at my recital. When I responded to their call for one, they sat open-mouthed with astonishment. They called for another. To their credit as musicians be it said, that these fugues made a profound impression upon them, and that the next day every organist of Genoa was making arrangements to have a pedal-board attached to his piano, so that he might practise pedaling the Bach fugues at home.

The pioneers of the German school of organ composition and playing were Samuel Scheidt, Johann Froberger, and Dietrich Buxtehude. Froberger belonged to the seventeenth century, and was known both in Germany and in England. There is a romantic anecdote regarding his visit to England. He was twice robbed on his way to London, and, reaching that city practically penniless, was obliged to accept the place of organ-blower at Westminster Abbey. At the solemnization of the marriage of Charles II, he overblew the bellows,—necessarily with disastrous effect upon the performance. The organist, Christopher Gibbons, was so enraged that he jumped from the organ-bench and not only berated Froberger, but actually struck him. A few minutes later, however, Froberger, seeing the organ-bench vacant, occupied it and began improvising. His style of playing was immediately recognized by a court lady who had been one of his pupils in Germany. She sought him out, and presented him to the King, who received him most graciously. After that his circumstances improved greatly.

Buxtehude's place among these pioneers is of primary importance,

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not only by reason of his individual work as composer and player, but also because he exerted a marked influence upon Bach. Every one must have a father; and there are fathers in music. Buxtehude was Bach's musical father. His influence on Bach was as marked as was Weber's upon young Wagner. Buxtehude was a Dane; but his most solid work—that upon which his fame rests—was done in Germany. He was organist of the Marien church in Lübeck for many years. Here he originated the so-called Abend-Musiken,—great musical performances given in connection with church services on the evenings of the five Sundays preceding Christmas,—which, under his successors, continued well into the nineteenth century. The extent of Buxtehude's fame and influence may be understood from the fact that Bach walked fifty miles in order to hear him. At the time Buxtehude was organist in Lübeck, Handel applied for a similar position in another church in the same city. But, as one of the conditions of the appointment obliged him to marry the daughter of his predecessor, he withdrew his application,—whether before or after he had seen the young lady, I do not know.

Organ music reached its climax with Bach: it may, perhaps, be said that all music did. At any rate, one thing is certain: viz., if there has been any progress in music since the day of Bach, it has been due to him. Bach's music is polyphonic; and polyphony is true music. To its foundation upon this school is due the fact that there has been no decadence in music in Germany.

There has been no advance in polyphony since the days of Bach. Such advance as has been made has been in originality and boldness of modulation. Wagner's music may be called "omnitonic," that is, modulating into all keys: but it is still polyphonic; and for that reason it is real music. The old church composers wrote their pieces in one key and the keys closely related thereto. Wagner expressed passion, love, and, in fact, all the emotions, and swept over the whole gamut of chromatic tonality. But both the old German church composers and Wagner are polyphonic; and the latter is but a logical evolution from the former.

For pure organ music, Bach still is, and probably will always remain, the greatest of all composers. Even with all the modern mechanical appliances that have been attached to the organ, his works are still very difficult,—perhaps the most difficult of organ compositions. He must have been as great an organist as he was a composer. That he should have been able to play, upon the organ of his day, works so exacting in technique as his own, is simply marvellous.

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It is one of the phenomena of musical history that, while orchestral, operatic, and other branches of music were in their infancy in Bach's day, and have developed since then, Bach brought organ music to its climax. He was not the small source whence flowed a rivulet which, in time, was to expand into a broad stream; he was the broad stream itself. The word "Bach," in German, means a brook, which led a famous German composer to say punningly that this great master was not a *Bach*, but an ocean. The music of Bach must be played in the strictest style of *legato*, in each individual part; but this does not exclude accentuation. Bach was an excellent violin-player; and there are many traces of violin technique in his organ compositions, which decidedly affect the phrasing. The familiar "G Minor" fugue, for instance, is full of violin phrases, requiring the most delicate accentuation, in order that their full meaning may be disclosed.

There are some singular details in connection with several of Bach's compositions. To this day, the pedal-boards of most German organs have only twenty-seven notes, instead of thirty. They range from the low C to the middle D of the piano, instead of to F or G. Yet, in the "Toccata in F Major" the pedal part goes to F. One of his organ chorales even reaches F sharp, half a tone higher; and in the "Fantaisie in G Major" he starts on B below the lowest C found on the old pedal-boards. This suggests that possibly some of these compositions, like the "Passacaglia," were composed for the clavecin with pedals.

My admiration for Bach is unbounded. I consider that Bach is music. Everything else in music has come from him; and if all music, excepting Bach's, were to be destroyed, music would still be preserved. People who think of Bach as a composer of fugues, and imagine that because he wrote fugues and pieces belonging to that style of music, he was merely a dry, learned, musical arithmetician, are to be pitied. Bach's genius was most flexible; and many of his works indicate that, if he had been disposed to become a dramatic composer, he might have done so successfully.

His "Passion" music, for instance, is full of emotion. The expression in such recitatives as that describing the rending of the veil of the temple is marvellous. At the same time, the music is extremely realistic. In fact, throughout the "Passion" music, recitative and chorus follow the action closely and give exact expression to the emotions suggested by the text. It cannot be doubted that Glück's style of dramatic recitative is founded upon Bach's wonderful achievements in the recitative of the "Passion" music. Another dramatic number in Bach's works,

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to which I always like to call attention, is the F Minor chorus in the cantata entitled "Actus Tragicus." In this chorus the alto, tenor, and bass chant a sad and solemn reflection on death, while above them the soprano part soars like a prayer breathing hope in the Saviour. In fact, in everything relating to the Saviour, Bach's musical expression is exquisitely tender.

But I find the heart of Bach in the chorales which he wrote for the organ. These combine in a wonderful degree exact musical science with the deepest feeling, and are grand objects of study. At the Paris Conservatoire, where I have the pleasure of being professor of the organ, much time is devoted to these chorales. I think that, on account of the polyphonic character of Bach's works, they should not be played too fast. In ancient music, the "Allegro" movement was not played so fast as at the present day. On the other hand, the "Andante" is now frequently played too slowly.

Mendelssohn, in his organ music, has given a modern touch to polyphonic writing; and the later German organ composers are following him. As regards playing, the German organists have adhered to the classical style; but I consider this due largely to the fact that German organ-builders have not thoroughly modernized their instruments. The touch of German organs is stiff; they have few modern mechanical appliances; and, while the mixtures and diapasons are good, and the pedal-boards have decidedly improved, the reeds remain poor.

Coming now to the French school, I should call Jean Titelouze the father of organ music in France. Like the Italian pioneers of organ composition, he wrote pieces in the Gregorian tonality. Unfortunately, little by little, his successors departed from the polyphonic style, with the result that organ music in France underwent a degeneration similar to that in Italy.

About the middle of the present century, a well-known organist named Boëly endeavored to place French organ music upon a more solid basis, and to restore not only the old style of composition, but also of playing. He made a valiant attempt to introduce Bach and other serious composers; but he was unsuccessful. He simply sacrificed himself; for his efforts resulted in dismissal from his church. But M. Jacques Lemmens, from whom I had the honor of receiving instruction, was more fortunate. His efforts to introduce the best style of organ music in France began in 1852. His playing of Bach was a complete revelation to French organists, and formed the foundation of a more serious style of playing and composition.

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Among the more famous and best-known organists and composers of France, in recent years, are: MM. Cesar Franck, A. Chauvet, Th. Salome, Saint-Saëns, Widor, of St. Sulpice, Eugene Gigout, of St. Augustin, Clement Loret, of the École Religieuse, and Theodor Dubois, who succeeded M. Saint-Saëns at the Madeleine and is now the Director of the Conservatoire.[1]

The development of organ-playing and organ composition in France has been greatly aided by the skill of French organ-builders, notably by the inventions of Aristide Cavaillé-Coll. The first notable product of the skill of the latter was the organ of the Basilique at St. Denis. It was he who devised the distribution of the wind at different pressures, which has resulted in greater steadiness of tone.

Organ-playing may be divided generally into two schools. In one, the organ is treated as an orchestra, the production of orchestral effects being sought; while the other holds that the organ has so noble a tone quality, and so many resources of its own, that it need not servilely imitate the orchestra. I belong to the latter school. Berlioz said: "The organ is Pope; the orchestra, Emperor." In other words, each is supreme in its own way.

I am utterly opposed to the playing of orchestral works on the organ. While the rendition of orchestral pieces on it, in an attempt to reproduce the orchestral color of the original scoring, is, to my mind, deplorable enough, the playing of such works as the "William Tell" or "Semiramide" overtures is especially out of keeping with the character of the instrument.

It is true that I myself have arranged several works for the organ; but in each instance the composition had been previously played by the composer. Among these may be mentioned: The "Marche Héroïque" (Saint-Saëns), Prelude to the "Déluge" (Saint-Saëns), and "Romance" (Chauvet). The "Berceuse," by Saint-Saëns, which I have only recently arranged, was done at the special request of the composer. At the same time, M. Durand requested that I would transcribe the finale from M. Saint-Saëns's "Suite Algérienne." This I refused to do, because the piece is not in the organ style.

As between orchestra and organ, each has its great qualities and its faults. The organ has a certain solidity of resonance; while the orchestra's resonance is restless, feverish. The organ holds, sustains. On the other hand, one of the great faults of the organ is its lack of attack,

[1] This list would be incomplete without the addition of the name of M. ALEXANDRE GUILMANT himself.—ED. THE FORUM.

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or slowness of response. Here I may refer to a fault in technique which is often found. Many organists think it wise not to press down the key too quickly or too far. I think, on the contrary, that the full pressure of the finger should be made at once, and the key held down solidly until released. As to pedaling, French organ pupils are now taught to hold the knees together and to use the heels much more than formerly. This method results in a quieter style of playing, and gives greater smoothness in phrasing; while it increases speed.

In America I have found many good organs. They are especially effective in the softer stops, such as the Dulciana, Flutes, and Gamba. But the Full Organ lacks resonance and energy, and does not thrill. I do not think the mixtures and reeds of the Great Organ should be included in the swell-box, as this weakens the tone and destroys proper balance. The pedals in American organs are not so clear and distinct as they should be. They lack the Eight- and Four-Foot tone. The effect is the same as if there were too many double-basses in an orchestra and not enough violoncellos. The Sixteen-Foot Open Diapason in the Great Organ is so powerful that every organ should also have the milder Sixteen-Foot Bourdon, which gives a mellow quality to the foundation stops. But, as a rule, the softer Sixteen-Foot stops are wholly lacking in American organs.

My opinion is that organ-builders should devote less time to mechanical improvements, and more time to improving the voicing of their instruments. Mechanical appliances are multiplying so fast that very soon the organist will be unable to occupy himself with anything except the mechanism of his instrument. This is a tendency greatly to be deplored. Organ-playing should be essentially musical, and, as far as possible, in the pure style of the organ; it should not involve the necessity of constantly changing the registration.

There is too great a tendency to use the vibrating stops, such as the Voix Céleste, Tremolo, or Vox Humana; so that, when these effects are really called for, they do not make the desired impression.

Both in Europe and in America, a lively interest is evinced in all these questions, so vitally important to the organ; and it is to be hoped that, as a result, a taste for pure organ music and better instruments will be promoted. In France, a society called "The Schola Cantorum" has recently been formed with the object of reviving the ancient forms of church music, and for the study of the Plain-Song, Gregorian Chant, and organ music. Were a similar movement initiated in America, it would certainly bear good fruit. ALEXANDRE GUILMANT.

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THE TRAMP PROBLEM: A REMEDY.

DURING a summer day, several years ago, a laborer lay down in a public square in New York, to obtain rest before his dinner-hour had passed. He was tired, and soon fell into a doze from which he awakened to find himself surrounded by a crowd of people who supposed that he had been overcome by the extreme heat. And such of the onlookers as were charitably inclined had tossed a handful of coppers, nickels, and dimes into the man's hat, which had slipped from his head. The object of sympathy and beneficence realized the situation at a glance, and "recovered" slowly. In all probability he found a day's wages in his hat; and I have been informed recently that he has since led the life of a professional beggar.

A well-known business man was accosted on Broadway one day last winter by a muscular youth, who besought him to provide a breakfast.

"I know I look strong and hearty," the applicant added, "but that very fact prevents me from getting a meal; and I am half famished. If you 'll only pay for something to eat, I 'll gladly pay back in any kind of work."

The manufacturer thus addressed permitted sympathy to overbalance common sense and justice; and, while refusing to give money, he took the applicant into a restaurant where he was known, and told the cashier to give the fellow some food, and to charge it to his (the manufacturer's) account. Later in the day, this misguided philanthropist called to pay the bill, supposing it would amount to twenty or thirty cents. He was surprised, naturally, when informed that the hungry young man had purchased expensive viands and several cigars, costing altogether about two dollars.

The problem of the street beggar has not yet been solved: perhaps there is no solution for it. Every sensible person knows that the vast majority of beggars on the streets are idle, lazy vagabonds and quasi-criminals. The very fact, that they beg for food or money without offering service in return, is sufficient proof of this assertion to a majority of intelligent men and women. Yet we know that in some dark corner of a rookery on the East-side of New York, or in corresponding slums

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of other great cities, more than one poor woman, and more than one little child, are actually suffering the pangs of hunger. Experience indicates that persons in real want of food or medicine do not as a rule appear on the streets as beggars; nevertheless, as long as we know they exist somewhere, it is very hard, for fear of refusing aid to the needy, to close one's purse and harden one's heart when applied to for assistance, whoever the applicant may be, although it is quite generally accepted that ill-directed charity is the principal cause of beggary.

Recall the march of "Coxey's Army" from Ohio to Washington, a few years ago. The main portion of that "Army" consisted, doubtless, of idle men, whose emotional nature had been played upon by loquacious leaders, of whom some may have been honest in their intentions. Many more, it is safe to say, were merely political demagogues, seeking notoriety and, ultimately, elective office. But as the "Army" proceeded in its ridiculous "march," it was joined by scores of tramps and other vagabonds, as well as by hundreds of ill-balanced laboring-men, who actually quit work to further the "demonstration against capital." A journalist, who accompanied the Coxey brigade for one of the greatest newspapers in the world, states that it was a frequent occurrence for farmers along the line of march to urge members of the "Army" to drop out of the ranks and go to work harvesting at good wages. The correspondent says further, that these offers were laughed at, and that he does not know of one having been accepted.

Such a "demonstration" as that engineered by Coxey could have but one result, namely, complete failure within a brief period. But the imitators of Coxey, who sprang up in other parts of the country, acted in a much more dangerous manner. They robbed, held up trains, intimidated individuals, and even terrified local Government officials. The greatest evil born of that insane movement was that thousands of men in the Western States learned that they could readily obtain food and clothing without work; and it is impossible to estimate the number of persons who became habitual tramps, after joining various divisions of the "Coxey Army."

It has been said that tramps are not all criminals. Yet, when an unambitious man ascertains that he can spend five months in the country, walking or resting as he chooses, but always sure of sufficient food and clothing, he has no overpowering desire to work hard during the remainder of the year; and the chances are that in winter he will drift to some large city (unless he goes South), and by degrees become a professional criminal. Again, there are so many "charity restaurants" scat-

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tered throughout our large cities, that a tramp, or a street beggar, really has no especial occasion for hard work. He has little trouble in obtaining two or three cents for a charity meal, and an extra nickel for whiskey or beer. Material for smoking may be found in the gutters; and matches are plentiful.

Large as is the army of street beggars in our cities, yet far greater is the number of tramps in the country districts from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Canadian border to the Gulf of Mexico. From time to time we read that a citizen of one of our larger cities has been attacked by a beggar to whom he refused to give money; but such instances are extremely rare when compared with the frequent intimidation by tramps of women who happen to be alone in their homes, either in villages or in farm-houses, at a distance from neighbors. There are few mothers and fewer daughters who, under such circumstances, would refuse to give food or clothing to a burly, unkempt tramp, who accompanied his request with threatening expression. Remembrances of assault, of robbery, and of incendiary fires usually cause an unprotected woman to be prompt when a villainous-looking vagrant demands a "hand-out." So much dread of tramps existed a few years ago, in one of the more populous farming counties of New York, that the wife of a well-known Representative in Congress insisted that, when away from home, he should leave open the door of his safe. "I have seen too many tramps," his wife used to say, "to feel at ease, even with dogs running free about the grounds, and would much rather have the silver stolen than be chloroformed by a burglar who could easily drop from one freight-train, accomplish the crime, and depart on the next."

The widespread fear of tramps throughout our rural districts has by no means decreased in recent years; and the very existence of such fear has made it easier for tramps to obtain "hand-outs,"—a fact which tends to encourage their insolence and to increase their numbers.

Many attempts have been made to solve the "tramp problem"; but, so far as can be ascertained, only one has met with even temporary success. This plan, which originated in Rahway, New Jersey, will be described further on. As in the case of the city street-beggars, there would be no "tramp problem" if the public could be made to feel that it is directly responsible for the trouble. The tramp who ascertains that he cannot secure food through begging will go to work. Hunger is a master before which laziness bows in submission. Scattered through various counties of the several States are homes of sensible people, upon whose gate-posts may be seen chalk marks made by tramps, to inform

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others who follow that it is useless to beg at such houses. But, unfortunately for the public, the vagrants know that these are unusual cases of common sense, and that, by tramping a short distance farther, they can reach other homes where food and clothing may be secured with little effort. Years ago, one of the most generous of men, when opening his home, gave orders that no person who applied for food should be refused. This unfortunate and ill-directed philanthropy had the natural result of bringing numbers of tramps to his door every week; but—and this is the main point—it also brought the same vagrants to his neighbors. If that gentleman's wisdom had been as keen as his heart was large, he would have ordered that no person should receive food from his kitchen until sufficient work had been performed to pay for it, at market rates.

It would be impossible to ascertain and describe the many methods which have been tried to solve the tramp problem. So far as the writer knows, all, except the Rahway plan, have failed. And, this plan, owing to its objectionable feature, is not likely to find many advocates. Indeed, notwithstanding its success, it has already been abandoned by the authorities of Rahway themselves. The Rahway plan was suggested only when the usual methods of arresting and fining tramps had failed to free the locality of their presence. Situated on the main line of a great railroad, Rahway was visited by an ever-increasing number of vagrants, until it was finally decided by the Mayor that notices should be conspicuously posted throughout the city, warning tramps that they would be arrested on sight, and put to hard labor on the streets in chain-gangs. The notices were posted; but the first tramps who saw them treated the matter as a joke, and proceeded, as usual, to beg from house to house. They were, probably, the most surprised vagrants who ever visited New Jersey, when they found themselves, next morning, forced to mend and clean the streets, each man wearing a ball and chain riveted to one of his ankles. The unusual punishment created great interest. Rahway correspondents of New York papers telegraphed the news, which was then disseminated throughout the country by means of press associations; and within a brief period tramps from one end of the land to the other were familiar with the "horrible fate" that would await them upon a visit to Rahway. The gentleman who advised the Mayor to apply this summary treatment said recently that, after six of them had been so treated, the city was absolutely freed from tramps, and that although the plan has not been carried out of recent years, its effect had been so salutary that it is exceptional, even to-day, for a

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tramp to enter the confines of that municipality. Instead of walking through Rahway, when journeying to or from New York, the vagrant waits outside the city limits until he is able to board a freight train, and travels through the place as fast as the cars will carry him.

The plan was abandoned because legally there was no power to enforce it. As the laws of the State made no provision for such punishment for vagrancy, any of the tramps so treated might sue the city for damages. The method, however, proved perfectly successful.

As it may be assumed that the Rahway plan will not meet with general approval, it must be admitted that, as yet, no effective scheme has been invented to drive tramps away from the larger communities. In view of the fact that the annoyance and danger from tramps are far greater in small villages and in outlying farming regions than in towns and cities, which possess more adequate police protection, the remedy at the disposal of villagers and farmers, which I suggest below, is certainly worth a thorough trial.

Unless he is really suffering from illness, or hunger, or exposure, the honest, self-respecting man will not ask for food, shelter, or clothing without offering to pay therefor in either money or work. On the other hand, there are few villagers or farmers who would refuse food to any hungry man offering to work in payment for a meal. The natural deduction is apparent. If the farmers and villagers will carry out strictly and mercilessly the following plan, they may rest assured that tramps will disappear from their neighborhoods:—

(1) Let the householders of a village, or the farmers of a specified locality, hold a meeting, and formally agree that, for the period of one year, no tramp not actually suffering shall be given food, clothing, or shelter unless he perform in advance sufficient work, at the prevailing rate of wages, to pay for what he receives. (2) Let notices to that effect be posted; and let the action of the meeting be fully reported in the local papers. (3) Most important of all, let the village correspondent of the Associated Press send out the news, so that it will be printed throughout the country in journals large and small. In communities where no correspondent resides the editor of the local paper will know where and how to address the nearest representative of that great news-gathering agency; and he should furnish him with full information. News travels with incredible rapidity through "Trampdom"; and there is nothing the tramp hates so much as work.

HENRY EDWARD ROOD.

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IT IS WORTH WHILE TO TAKE OUT A PATENT.[1]

In the January Forum there appeared an article attacking the patent system and arguing against the advisability of patenting inventions. I am surprised to see displayed at this day such lack of faith in a system from which, as the Hon. Elisha Foote said, "there has been more advance in all the practical arts of life than was made in all preceding ages of the world taken together." The wisdom of maintaining a patent system is so apparent that every really civilized nation has its laws for the protection of inventions.

A little reflection will make evident the necessity for such laws. There will always be men who, for the mere love of science and fame, will seek to discover the principles and laws of nature; but these discoveries can be of little use or profit to mankind, until some practical application of them has been made. To reduce to a working form some broad idea; to improve a process; or so to alter an existing machine as to bring the cost of manufacture to a point where the product can be sold at a profit,—any one of these often requires years of experimentation and thought, and the expenditure of large sums of money. Who will undertake such burdens, if the fruits of his labors are to be reaped by his competitor on the day his first sale is made?

The law provides for patenting any new and useful art, machine, manufacture, or composition of matter. It is nearly impossible to keep secret machines and articles of manufacture. Concealed processes are often worked out from a study of their products; and frequently the formulas of compositions of matter can be discovered by analysis or experiment. In other words, mechanical inventions, almost without exception, must be patented; and many chemical inventions cannot be controlled without the same protection. As the proportion of mechanical to chemical patents granted by the United States Patent Office is 17 to 1, it is manifestly unfair to base an argument on the patent system, as did Mr. Huntington, solely on chemical cases.

A patent is in the nature of a contract between the public and the

[1] A reply to the article, "Is it worth while to take out a Patent?" by Mr. Harwood Huntington, in The Forum for January, 1898 (p. 606).

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inventor, whereby, in return for the exclusive right to his invention for seventeen years, the inventor agrees clearly and fully to disclose his invention in every detail and in its best form. The inventor who seeks to conceal an essential point of his invention, while gaining the protection of the patent laws, manifestly defrauds the public, and fails to perform his part of the contract.

In the Verdigris Patent Case, cited by Mr. Huntington, the inventor, in concealing the use of acid to hasten the dissolving of the copper, showed bad faith, violated the law,—which required him to explain in his specification the best method of carrying out his invention,—and sought to acquire the protection of the patent, while concealing a step that would give him an advantage after the invention had become public property.

As the result of a patent, the public gains an invention which, perhaps, otherwise would never have been made, and also receives an accurate record which will "enable any person skilled in the art" to use the invention. The records of the Patent Office are the most complete encyclopædia of the useful arts in existence. There is hardly anything that one could wish to accomplish in industrial life, in respect of which the Patent Office cannot furnish the choice of a score, or it may be a hundred, methods.

The really useful inventing is done by those who work in an art with which they are thoroughly familiar. Such men know what is most needed in the way of improvement; and, being fully aware of what has been already done, they do not waste their efforts in reinventing what is already known, as frequently do those who invent at random. Such inventors form the class who make the most satisfactory use of the patent system, because they are the best able to conform to its requirements.

Where a process is held not to infringe a patent for a process which, having the same purpose, has more steps, it is because the omission of the steps in question involved the exercise of the inventive faculty. If the change is one which could have been made by anyone skilled in the art, upon a request to shorten the process, then the courts hold that the new process is the equivalent of the patented one, and that it infringes. The same reasoning applies to the addition of elements to those of a claim. Thus the patent law protects the inventor in all that can possibly be called his invention.

The disadvantage of having omitted one element of a lengthy claim, while the benefit of the invention is retained by the infringer, can be

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easily obviated by the well-recognized practice of drawing a series of claims, each broader than the preceding one, so that it will be impossible to use the essence of the invention without infringing the patent. At the same time, if evidence produced in a suit should show that the patentee is not the inventor of the broad invention, his specific claims may be still upheld. These conditions may be difficult to fulfil; but it is the duty of a good patent lawyer to be equal to the task required of him. That this is not an impossible task is shown by the fact that patents are sustained every day under the fire of the most acute lawyers, whose interest it is to disprove the validity of the patents in question.

A bar of the Patent Office, similar to that of the courts, would protect, to a certain extent, inventors who cannot judge of the qualifications of their attorneys; and legislation for that purpose is now proposed. At present, it is too frequently the case that a solicitor who is not a lawyer is employed to secure the patent, and that a lawyer of ability is employed only when suit is to be brought, or the patent is to be defended. In this way, many defects are allowed to creep into the patent; causing great expense in sustaining it. Manifestly, it would be wiser to expend the ability in securing a flawless patent than in finding excuses for errors after the patent has issued.

While it is true that every possible flaw in a patent is attacked, the courts do not allow justice to miscarry on a really unessential point. How can a patentee be surprised when his patent is defective if, to prepare it, he employed a man not skilled in the field of science to which the invention relates? I venture to assert that no patent lawyer can be eminently successful if he have not, besides his legal qualifications, a thorough scientific education. As for the cost of a patent litigation, it must not be forgotten that the rights of the public, as well as those of the patentee, are involved; and the patentee should not be allowed to set up his monopoly without clearly establishing his rights in due form, although, it may be, at considerable expense to himself. In my judgment, the course of justice is not unnecessarily long.

The question of experts in patent matters is undoubtedly one which needs attention. If experts were selected by the courts, and their fees added to the costs, they would then be free from bias toward or against the patent.

The complaint is made that our patents are so frequently upset in court that it is difficult to enlist the aid of capital in support of really meritorious inventions. In view of the comparatively small force in the Patent Office, it is strange that so large a proportion of the patents

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is sustained, as is the case. Among the governments having patent systems in extensive use, ours alone (with one exception, perhaps) seeks to grant only such patents as will be sustained by the courts. There are about a million patents of all countries, besides numerous scientific publications, which must be considered in determining whether or not an invention is new. It is not impossible to perform this task with reasonable certainty; but, to do it, there must be a proper classification of the records, and ample time to consider them. At present, the arrangement of the patents is such that usually there must be considerable doubt as to whether or not the field of search has been fully covered. Numerous questions of form and merit arise in connection with each application for a patent; and the conflicting claims of rival inventors necessitate long and complicated proceedings to determine who is entitled to the patent.

What judge would undertake to make in one year over seven thousand preliminary and final decisions, many of which involve large sums of money, as does the primary examiner in one of the divisions of the Patent Office—and that division not the busiest one?

With a sufficiently large corps of examiners, the invalid patents could be reduced to an insignificant number, so that capital might be more readily found for this form of investment. This inability of the Patent Office to cope with the enormous amount of work imposed upon it is, I think, the greatest difficulty in the way of the successful operation of the patent system. In view of the fact, that the earnings of the Patent Office have exceeded its expenses by over five millions of dollars, there should be no difficulty in securing the legislation necessary to increase the force of examiners.

The foregoing considerations seem to me thoroughly to establish the fact that while, doubtless, there are difficulties in the way of the inventor who patents his discoveries, he is still very much better off than the man who seeks to control his invention by concealing it.

EDWIN J. PRINDLE.

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STATE CONTROL OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

An old topic of political interest has become a new subject of public discussion. It is commonly designated Primary Election Reform. It is, in fact, the question of State control of the caucuses, primaries, and conventions of political parties. Within the past ten years there has been a gradual growth in the scope of legislation in this direction. All the more complete and comprehensive statutes upon the subject have been enacted within five years.

The laws proposed in the past have been scattered in aim; and those enacted have been desultory in purpose. All have one common characteristic: They seek to adapt to the choice of party nominees some of the safeguards which have been thrown round general elections. The more recent ones have shown clearly that we have entered upon an entirely new stage in the development of our system of popular government. The last sessions of the legislatures of various States were particularly marked by proposed legislation which recognized this situation. A National Conference of men of all political parties was held in New York in January last for the purpose of discovering the precise defects in the present primary laws and to suggest remedies. Representative public men, from Massachusetts to California, spent two days in an exhaustive discussion of the subject in all its aspects. Its novelty and the diversity of local ideas made it unadvisable to attempt to agree upon uniform laws, or even unanimity as to proposed legislation. The deliberations of the Conference ended in the formation of a "National Primary Election League." Its objects are the encouragement of legislation in the several States, which shall secure to voters their individual rights in the conduct of enrolments, registrations, primaries, caucuses, conventions, and nominations, and provide adequate penalties for violations of those rights. The influence of the Conference has been, as the work of the League will be, far-reaching in its results. The government will no longer be one "of the people, by the people, for the people," but of the parties, by the parties, for the parties.

The State control of elections has been an accepted fact of our system of government; but the early forms of this control were of a very

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simple character. They consisted almost exclusively in counting the ballots and certifying the results. This was supplemented by penal provisions to punish repeaters and to prevent other frauds on the ballot-box. Such primitive methods worked well in rural communities, but were failures in populous centres. They have been generally supplanted by State control of the printing, distribution, preparation, casting, and counting of the ballots, and of the certification of the results.

The present agitation in favor of State control of political parties is a direct sequence to the increased control which the States have assumed within the past ten years over the preparation and form of the ballot at general elections.

Any person seeking election to a public office is naturally anxious to secure the nomination of the political party to which he belongs. He can thus rely upon a substantial body of voters casting a straight party ticket which will include his name; and minor defects in his individual character will be merged in the general merits of his party. All candidates not particularly objectionable can count upon this party support. Party managers are always eager to secure the party nomination for their tools or favorites. But they want no candidate who will run behind his ticket. Managers and candidates alike fear the voters who may "scratch" the ticket. Under the old system of voting, this fear was a much more potent factor in the management of political parties. The regular party ballots were printed by the general committee of each political party; but there was nothing to prevent any other person from printing tickets for the same political party. Each candidate could print his own tickets. Anyone might print a general party ticket, with his own name as an independent candidate for a particular office substituted for the regular nominee of the political party. Such tickets could be distributed near the polls by the friends of the independent candidate and deposited in the ballot-box. One piece of paper containing the names of candidates was as good as another in the eye of the law.

The fear of this sort of work made political managers more careful in their treatment of rival candidates for a nomination at a primary or convention. Their only escape from a cut-throat contest was to conduct a caucus or convention with such fairness that the defeated candidates and their friends would have no ground to claim that they had been defeated by trickery or fraud. They had an effective remedy for such wrongs in their own hands: Their candidate could run as an independent candidate for the office and insure the defeat of his successful

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rival. The freedom in the form and preparation of their ballots, and the simplicity of the means of getting them into the box, made the candidacy of such a rival a dangerous factor in the election.

The establishment of the official ballot with party columns has largely changed this method of procedure. The defeated candidate for a regular party nomination cannot easily get his name upon the official ballot. He must procure a petition signed by a stated number of his friends and verified before a notary. The place which he then obtains upon the official ballot is an obscure one in a remote column at the outer edge. His name is indiscriminately mixed with those of other men who, in a similar way, have secured independent nominations for all sorts of offices. The task of explaining to his friends where his name will be found upon the ballot makes a proper canvass practically impossible; and the risk of improperly marking an official ballot —thereby losing their entire vote—destroys the willingness of his friends to assist him in a fight.

Formerly it was easy to vote a "scratched" or "split" ticket: now it is difficult. Formerly the scratched or split ticket was prepared by the interested candidate: now it must be prepared by the voter. The importance of a regular party nomination has been magnified; the political value of a place in the regular party column has been enhanced; and the incentive to win such a place is greater. The increased rewards of success have increased the temptation to win by fair means or foul. The centre of political trickery has been transferred to the party caucuses, primaries, and conventions. Perhaps in no State has the evolution of this situation been more marked than in New York.

The enactment of a statute directing the printing of official ballots by a public officer, necessarily involved some grant of authority to that officer to determine, in the first instance, which candidates should have their names printed on that ballot. The danger of erroneous determinations by that officer, by reason of ignorance, mistake, or prejudice, made imperative the grant of the right of appeal, by the defeated candidates, to the courts for a review of those determinations. This statute has changed slightly from time to time, but has never varied in substance and purpose from its present form. It provides that any questions arising with reference to the construction, validity, or legality of any certificate of nomination shall be determined, in the first instance, by the officer with whom such certificate of nomination is filed. The courts have summary jurisdiction, upon complaint of any citizen, to review the determination and acts of such officer, and "to make such

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order in the premises as justice may require." The same statute provides that if there be a division within a party, and two or more factions claim the same device or name, the officer shall decide such conflicting claims, "giving preference of device and name to the convention or primary or committee thereof recognized by the *regularly constituted party authorities.*"

Under this statute, contests over the construction, validity, or legality of certificates of nomination multiplied for several years. The courts were appealed to with increasing frequency to review the determinations of officers having jurisdiction of such questions in the first instance. These appeals were seldom carried beyond the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court. The provisions of the law were so meagre, and there were so many references to the rules and regulations of political parties, that conflicting decisions were the result.

One line of decisions held that the determinations of party conventions or party authorities had no weight whatsoever, and that the public officers and courts must examine all the facts and do substantial justice. The other held that, in determining questions as to the regularity of political conventions, the public officers and courts should rely upon the action and determination of the regularly constituted party authorities upon such questions, where there had been a determination by such party authorities.

This conflict of decisions in the Supreme Court has been settled by a decision of the Court of Appeals.[1] The Court decided:

"that the State Committee and State Convention of the party are its regularly constituted authorities . . . It is much more proper that questions which relate to the regularity of conventions, to the nomination of candidates, and to the constitution of committees should be determined by the regularly constituted party authorities, than to have every question relating to a caucus, convention, or nomination determined by the courts, and thus, in effect, to compel them to make party nominations and regulate the details of party procedure, instead of having them controlled by party authorities. We think that, in cases where questions of procedure in conventions or the regularity of committees are involved, which are not regulated by law, but by party usages and customs, the officer called upon to determine such questions should follow the decisions of the regularly constituted authorities of the party, and that courts, in reviewing the determination of such officers, should in no way interfere with such determinations."

This decision leaves the procedure of conventions and the conduct of primaries to "the decisions of the regularly constituted authorities of the party." Their determination of questions arising under the "usages

[1] Matter of Fairchild, 151 N. Y., 359.

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and customs," "rules and regulations" of the party is final. Those "regularly constituted authorities" of the party are the State Committee and the State Convention.

If there are factional contests in a party, the State Committee and State Convention will necessarily be in control of one faction or another. The majority faction creates and modifies the rules and regulations of a political party. It may make and unmake them, and, from time to time, change and modify them. Its interpretation of its own rules and regulations must be followed by the courts. In view of this decision, the determination of a controlling faction on all questions affecting the rights of the other faction will be sustained by the courts and be final. While the law, as interpreted by this decision, remains unchanged, an appeal to voters to "attend the primaries" is a delusion and a snare. Any number of voters at a primary might find their choice declared "irregular," and the defeated opponent declared the "regular" nominee by the State Committee. His name would then appear on the official ballot in the regular party column. The majority of voters who had attended the primaries would have no redress before the courts.

The power conferred by this decision was exercised in at least two instances in the last election for Members of the Assembly in New York. The faction which was defeated at the primaries in certain towns trumped up alleged contests and held a fraudulent convention. The State Committee intervened, and declared the candidate of the minority faction the "regular" candidate. The court before which the matter was taken held that the decision of the State Committee was final. All efforts to establish rights in the courts, under this law of New York, may as well be abandoned. The State Committee of each party is supreme; it can make and unmake nominations at will; and the only redress lies in an appeal to the Legislature for a change in the statute.

To eradicate this evil, one and the same remedy is always suggested. It is, to provide severe penalties for violations of the rights of the members of a party at caucuses, primaries, and conventions. This seems simple and effective. Those who make it have overlooked the fact that there has been for many years a most stringent section of the Penal Code making almost every imaginable wrong committed at a caucus, primary, or convention, a misdemeanor punishable by imprisonment. The penalties of this section apply to any person who votes, or attempts to vote, at a political caucus, primary, or convention without being entitled to do so; who by bribery, menace, or other corrupt means, directly or indirectly attempts to influence the vote of any person entitled

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to vote at such caucus, primary, or convention; who obstructs such person in voting, or prevents him from voting thereat; who fraudulently or wrongfully does any act tending to affect the result of an election at such caucus, primary, or convention; or who induces, or attempts to induce, any officer, teller, or canvasser of such caucus, primary, or convention to do any act in violation of his duty. They also apply to any officer, teller, or canvasser who wilfully omits, refuses, or neglects to do any act required by the Election law, or refuses to permit any person to do any act authorized thereby, or makes, or attempts to make, any false canvass of the ballots cast at such caucus, primary, or convention, or makes, or attempts to make, any false statement of the result of a canvass of the ballots cast.

This section of the Penal Code has been practically a dead letter. It has been found impossible to make cases under it. No person could be punished for violating the rights of another person at a caucus, primary, or convention, when that other person had no rights recognized by law, which anyone was bound to respect. The decision of the Court of Appeals in the Matter of Fairchild has emphasized this difficulty. If the officers of the party organizations, their subordinates, or followers, commit any acts which deprive members of the party of their rights, they can easily escape punishment if the regularly constituted party authorities come forward and assert that the things which have been done are regular and in accordance with the usages and customs, rules and regulations of the political party. The regularly constituted party authorities are usually the same persons who have planned or instigated the unlawful acts which they have power to declare regular. No increase in the severity of penalties will remove this difficulty.

There can be no remedy for existing evils until the rights of every member of a party at a caucus, primary, or convention shall be legally fixed beyond question. Violations of these rights may be grouped in three classes: (1) Those affecting the right to membership in the party; (2) those affecting the exercise of the franchise at a primary; and (3) those affecting the rights of delegates in a convention.

Where the rules and regulations of a political party require an enrolment of its members as a prerequisite to the right to vote at a caucus or primary, the following are the prevailing offences of the first class: Concealing the time and place of enrolment; refusal to permit enrolment; striking names off the rolls; and padding the rolls, either by leaving on them the names of persons who have removed or died, or by putting upon them the names of fictitious persons—or persons of

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another political party—and having someone impersonate and vote for them.

In open caucuses and primaries, where a previous enrolment is not required, the same sort of evil is perpetrated by persons actually belonging to another political party, who make application to vote and, if challenged, swear in their votes by taking an oath that they are members of the political party holding the primary.

Under the second class, the most common offences are: Concealing the time and place of holding the primary; shortening and lengthening the time of holding the primary; holding the primary outside of the proper district; making false poll-lists; failing to permit an inspection of the ballot-box at the opening of the primary, to canvass the ballots in public, and to give a certificate of election to the persons elected.

Under the third class, the violations are mainly perpetrated in connection with the organization of the convention. The committee, or party officer, who makes up the temporary roll of members of the convention places upon it the names of contestants who are favorable to his faction. Contests are planned and instituted for the express purpose of providing contestants whose names can be thus placed upon the temporary roll. The number of such contests is limited only by the necessity of creating a temporary majority. These temporary delegates vote upon the choice of the temporary presiding officer. He, in turn, appoints a committee on credentials, which "hears the contests" and reports in favor of the temporary delegates already seated. The report is confirmed; and they become permanent members of the convention. A convention so organized is one of the "regularly constituted authorities of the party."

The ordinary rules of parliamentary procedure for the temporary organization of representative bodies have entirely failed to protect the rights of delegates to conventions. A statutory provision for the organization of conventions, fixing the procedure step by step, could be readily devised. It should be observed, however, that the work of a convention is the final act in the nomination of party candidates. Any improvement in the methods of conventions would be substantial only when supplemented by explicit provisions of law for the protection of caucuses and primaries at which delegates to the conventions are elected.

No legislation to reform the caucuses and primaries will be effective which does not begin at the bottom. The right to membership in a party is the foundation of all party allegiance. This right should first be defined and protected; and all legislation for safeguarding the

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further steps of political action should be based on this foundation. No substantial superstructure can be built until this right is firmly secured. Violations of this right can never be cured while the membership of a party is fixed by its own rules and regulations, as interpreted by the decisions of the men who may be temporarily in control of the regularly constituted party authorities.

The rule has been generally accepted, that political organizations should determine the qualifications of their own members. The proposal to fix by law the basis of membership in a political party strikes men with astonishment. Yet the State has gone so far in the recognition of parties that this step becomes less significant. In some States it has already been taken. That it is absolutely essential as the first step in any real progress, becomes more and more apparent. It is commonly known as the "Kentucky Plan," and provides for the official enrolment of all members of every political party who desire to take part in the caucuses and primaries of that party.

Each person who applies to be registered to vote at a general election will be asked the question, "Do you desire to register for the purpose of participating in the primaries of the political party with which you affiliate?" He is not required to answer, nor does his failure to do so in any way affect his right to register for the purpose of voting at any election. If he answer this question in the affirmative, he will be asked the further question, "With what party do you wish to affiliate?" The name of the political party given in answer to the latter question must be recorded in the column of the registration-book provided for the purpose. These registers are filed in the proper public office, and become public records open to inspection and copying by any elector. Provision is made for the "special registration" of any elector who may have removed from the election district in which he registered, who may have attained his majority after Election Day, or who by reason of sickness or necessary absence from his residence at the time of registration, may have failed to register. By filing a verified statement of the facts with the same public officer with whom the registers of electors are filed, every such elector may have his name recorded in a book provided for the purpose and known as a "Special Register for Primaries." Those whose party affiliation has been so stated, and recorded in the registers of electors, or in such Special Registers for Primaries, and only those, shall be entitled to participate in the caucuses and primaries of their respective political parties for the period of one year next following such registration.

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The plan does not violate the constitutional provision for secrecy in voting. It contains no statement as to how a man will vote, nor does it imply any further inference than actual participation in party work. It fixes by law the status of each elector, so far as the question of his membership in a party is concerned. It defines his right to the franchise at a primary. Supplemented by other provisions for the protection of the actual exercise of the franchise at a caucus or primary, it must eradicate or materially reduce the present evils which bring party management into such disrepute. General adoption of some form of official registration of the members of parties is a certainty of the near future in political legislation.

A more radical suggestion has been, to abolish conventions and have direct voting at primaries for nominations. This plan is not unknown in the South and West. The proposition is an innovation on existing systems of party government in the East. It is sometimes styled the "Record Plan," from its earnest advocate, Mr. George L. Record, of New Jersey. The plan, as drawn by him, was annexed to the Inaugural Message of Governor Werts in 1893. It may be briefly described as the application of the Australian ballot system to caucuses and primaries. It abolishes all conventions, and provides that nominations shall be made by direct vote of the people. A plurality nominates.

The first day of registration is made a primary or nominating day. The board of inspectors at the several places of registry acts not only as a board of registry, as at present, but also as a board of primary inspectors for all political parties. Only official ballots can be used. Each ballot contains all the names, alphabetically arranged, which have been filed with the City Clerk by certificate. Any fifty voters belonging to any political party can sign a certificate requesting the proper officer to print upon an official primary ballot the name of the person mentioned in the certificate as a candidate of their party for any particular office.

The voter, on the day of registration, goes to his place of registry, registers, announces his party affiliation, receives from the board an official ballot of his political party, enters the booth, erases all names except that of his chosen candidate for each nomination, and deposits this ballot in the box. The candidate having the plurality on each party ticket is declared to be the nominee of that party for the office in question; and his name is printed on the official ballot of that party prepared for the general election.

The advantages claimed for this plan are:

(1) *General and public notice of the time and place of holding caucuses*

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and primaries. Many voters do not know when and where their party primary is to be held: but everyone knows when and where to register; and most voters do register.

(2) *Greater interest in caucuses and primaries.* Many voters do not care to attend primaries now because they can only vote for a delegate to a convention, whose action at such convention is uncertain, and is often exactly contrary to the wishes of the voters at the primary. Under the new plan, every man can express directly his preference for party candidates at a convenient time and place.

(3) *The selection of better men as candidates for office, or rather, the selection of men under better conditions.* The present system limits the selection to a little coterie of politicians. The proposed plan throws the selection open to the whole people; and the successful candidate owes nothing to any machine or set of politicians.

(4) *This system sets apart a day for the selection of candidates.* The sole question of their relative fitness is then passed upon by the voters. This choice is not complicated by public questions.

(5) *The corruption of the primaries would probably disappear.* The great improvement in the practices of Election Day since the introduction of the Australian ballot law sustains this hope.

This is the problem, and these are some of the proposed solutions. No one may possess all the remedial virtue claimed by its advocates; but all should be granted earnest consideration and fair judgment. The widespread interest in the subject is the best test of its gravity in our political life. Every advance will be resisted by the combined force of the managing politicians of every party and the nonpartisan independents. One seeks to control, the other to destroy, all party action. One is vicious, the other mistaken, in its opposition. The fibres of American political life are closely intertwined with the framework of great political parties. The one cannot be destroyed without cutting down the other to its very roots. This fact must be recognized and not decried. The State must protect these great engines of political action from internal decay or external destruction. They must no longer be the tools or toys of the political bosses. The right of every member of every political party to the full use and enjoyment of every piece of the party machinery must be protected. The State must assume the task of this protection and perform the duty to the fullest extent.

FRANK D. PAVEY.

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RECENT ASTRONOMICAL PROGRESS.

THE vigor and success with which the oldest and greatest of the sciences is now cultivated must be reckoned among the noteworthy features of our times. It is not alone that new and great observatories have been founded, and that telescopes more powerful than ever before known have been pointed at the heavens, but also that new methods and new instruments have been so combined in astronomical research as to lead to knowledge of a kind which, not long ago, would have seemed impossible of attainment.

Though important from a purely scientific point of view, many of the conclusions arrived at involve necessarily so much mathematics in a description of them that it would prove dry and uninteresting to the general reader. But there are other classes of astronomical work the results of which cannot fail to be of interest to all.

No thinking man can learn that the planets are other worlds, in shape and size like this on which we dwell, without aspiring to know whether they are peopled like our own. The hope of being able to find some indication of intelligence on the planets has kindled the zeal of observers, and excited public curiosity in what they have seen, ever since the invention of the telescope. And yet, it must be sorrowfully confessed that little hope can be entertained of learning anything definite on the subject, unless some new and undreamed-of test of the question shall be discovered,—something as little suspected by us as spectrum analysis was by our great-grandfathers. Increase of telescopic power will not alone suffice, because—if for no other reason—our atmosphere so disturbs rays of light passing through it that little can be gained by carrying telescopic power beyond its present limits.

What important additions have been recently made to our knowledge of the surfaces of the planets? If we confine our answer to features the existence of which is conceded by all astronomers, it will not be very long. To describe everything that good observers believe they have seen, including the substance of all that is current in scientific literature, would need a book. The studies of Mars and other planets under very favorable conditions at Mr. Percival Lowell's observatory

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at Flagstaff, Arizona, alone fill a small volume. Assuming that the reader desires mainly to know what is actually established, we may begin with Mars,—the planet best situated for study, and about which most has been learned.

Mars has little or no atmosphere. Campbell, at the Lick Observatory, by the comparison of its spectrum with that of the moon, found that the atmosphere of Mars exerted no appreciable absorption on the rays of light passing through it. This conclusion is confirmed in other ways by Lowell, who, nevertheless, finds evidence of a very rare atmosphere.

There are few or no clouds on Mars. The same markings are nearly always visible, and, therefore, can seldom be obscured by vapors. Appearances, which may be due to local clouds or vapor, are occasionally remarked; but the best observers are in doubt on the subject.

It has been confirmed that the polar ice-caps, which have been well known since the time of Herschel, do really, as Herschel supposed, melt under the sun's rays during the Martian summer, to reappear during the following winter. Mr. Douglas, at the Lowell Observatory, found that during the melting a dark border was visible around the polar ice-cap, which might be the result of water produced by the melted snow. This, however, is by no means certain; and it cannot be regarded as impossible that the polar ice-caps may be due to some other substance—solid carbonic acid for example. Indeed, from the point of view of the most advanced physicists of the present day, it would seem hardly possible that the sun's rays would suffice to melt more than a few inches of ice or snow on the pole of Mars. The whiteness, however, may be produced by a layer no thicker than hoar-frost.

It has long been known that Mars has permanent markings of various colors on its surface,—especially dark regions, which have been very generally considered as seas. Fairly accurate maps showing these features have been drawn by various observers. But when we come to the minuter details, differences of opinion arise which cannot, as yet, be satisfactorily reconciled. Our readers are all familiar with the so-called "canals," first discovered by Schiaparelli in 1877. The word "canal" is an unfortunate misnomer, arising from a mistranslation of the Italian word "canále," used by Schiaparelli. This does not primarily mean a canal, but simply a channel or watercourse. It conveys no idea of artificiality. The word "channel" should, therefore, have been used, and not "canal." The markings thus designated are represented in Lowell's drawings of the planet by dark lines passing from

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point to point on its surface. They have been seen, or supposed to have been seen, by many good observers in Europe and America. And yet, conservative astronomers are sceptical as to the correctness of the descriptions and drawings. Schiaparelli represented the channels as rather indistinct and hazy streaks. At the Lick Observatory, the planet was, from time to time, observed by Barnard, one of the best observers, with the most powerful telescope then in existence. Under the most favorable circumstances he saw many details not given by Schiaparelli or any other observer; but they were so hazy and indistinct in outline as not to admit of representation by a diagram. The channels were not seen as the sharp, dark lines drawn on Lowell's maps, nor even as the strong features drawn by Schiaparelli, but only as irregular streaks, not strikingly different from the other markings.

Additional interest is given to this question by an extraordinary extension of the channel feature to other planets. As the result of long practice, the observers of the so-called canals of Mars are able to distinguish similar lines on Mercury, Venus, and even on the satellites of Jupiter. Barnard, who has better instrumental power than any other observer, sees features on the satellites of Jupiter which the observers of the marks do not see. On the other hand, he does not see anything like the sharp lines which the observers of the marks depict. It must be left to the reader to judge whether this wonderful system of channels is a reality which, through long practice, certain eyes have succeeded in being able to distinguish, or whether it is, in great part, illusory,—a misinterpretation of faint and shadowy appearances. The views of cautious and conservative astronomers differ. One incredulous observer caustically remarked that, in order to see the canals of Mars well at night, an observer should spend the preceding day with his eyes fixed on Schiaparelli's map.

Inside the orbit of the earth lies that of Venus. When between us and the sun, this planet is nearer to us than Mars ever comes; but then its dark hemisphere is turned toward us, so that observation is not possible. We cannot see even one-half the illuminated hemisphere until it is nearly as far away as the sun. The difficulty of observation is increased by the absence of well-defined features on the surface of the planet. To all ordinary telescopic vision, the impression given by Venus is that of a burnished globe, of which all parts of the surface are similar; the great differences of illumination being due to the different angles at which the sun's light is reflected to us. The outcome of all this is such a divergence of opinion among observers that

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there is no basis for a positive statement, either as to the time of rotation of Venus or the nature of its surface. Schiaparelli, ten years ago, reached the remarkable conclusion that the planet always presents the same face to the sun, just as the moon always presents the same hemisphere to the earth. Mr. Lowell's observers have reached a similar conclusion, and express themselves with entire confidence on the subject. Dissenting views are, however, still afloat; and the question cannot be settled until Venus shall have been carefully observed under circumstances more favorable than a majority of observers has yet enjoyed.

In the case of Jupiter, the evidence is more satisfactory, notwithstanding the greater distance of that planet. The variations in the belts show clearly that what we see is not, for the most part, a solid surface,—as in the case of Mars,—but a cloud-laden atmosphere. Differences in the times of rotation of the clouds, similar to those in the case of the solar spots, have given rise to the impression that this planet may be, like the sun, a compressed gaseous body, perhaps incandescent, without any solid nucleus. This view would seem to be negatived by the persistence of a noted red spot, which was first seen about 1878. It continued plainly visible for ten years or more, and then faded away, but in so gradual and intermittent a manner that traces of it are supposed still to be seen. No such permanence as this could be expected, unless Jupiter had a solid nucleus of considerable size.

In the case of Saturn, the most interesting recent observation is that of Keeler with the spectroscope. He has shown, by direct observation, that the outer portions of the rings of Saturn revolve round the planet more slowly than the inner portions. New confirmation is thus given to a view long held, that these rings are not composed of coherent matter either solid or liquid, but of a cloud of minute particles, perhaps of a vaporous character, each moving in its own orbit.

The discovery of the last ten years which has most occupied the attention of the professional astronomer is that of the variation of latitudes everywhere on the surface of the earth, the law of which has been worked out by Chandler. The variation does not involve any change in the actual distance of points on the surface of our globe from each other, but only in the position of the axis of rotation. If an observer could station himself at the north pole, and erect a stick at the precise point around which the earth was at any moment rotating, he would find this point to remain nearly in the same position all day, or, perhaps, for a few days. But, in the course of weeks, he would find it to change its position; and, by continuing his observations through a period of

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several years, he would find it to move round a central point in a somewhat varying and irregular curve, making a complete revolution in about fourteen months. The greatest distance from the central point might be twenty-five to thirty feet; but the radius of the circle in which the pole moves ranges between this distance and almost nothing. An observer in 1883-84, or seven years later, in 1891-92, would have found the distance about thirty feet. But, during the following revolution, the pole, while keeping up its rotation, would have approached very near the central point; so that during the years 1887-88 and 1894-95 the amount of change was very small. If Chandler's prediction be verified, the variation is now again approaching its largest value, and during 1898 will be as large as it ever was. The probable cause of the deviation is found in the annual changes undergone by the motion of the great masses of air on the earth's surface, combined with the deviation of the earth itself from a perfect sphere.

It is most singular that these changes were not observed before. In 1841-45, observations were made at the newly founded Pulkowa Observatory with instruments of such precision that, if continuously pursued, the changes of latitude could not have escaped detection. But, by a singular fatality, the observers seem to have taken their vacations at the times when the changes were large enough to be perceptible. As a consequence, they are not shown by these delicate determinations.

The writer's experience in this direction is yet more unfortunate. In 1862 and 1863, Hubbard and himself were perplexed by small but unaccountable discordances in observations of α Lyræ made with the prime vertical transit instrument. Hubbard died before working out the observations, and, doubtless, entertained the same impression of them that the author did, namely, that they were due to some unaccountable defect in the instrument or in the method of observation. Press of other work and unfavorable conditions prevented a more thorough investigation of the subject. It now turns out that the difficulty was due to the cause above mentioned, and not to any fault of the instrument.

Indications of the change were next noted at the Pulkowa Observatory about 1880, and at Berlin a few years later. The astronomers of the latter city inaugurated a systematic course of observations for the purpose of bringing out the law of the inequality; and these observations have been continued to the present time. Berlin, Pulkowa, Strasburg, and Prague have taken part in this work. In this country, Rees, at Columbia University, Doolittle, first at Lehigh, and more recently at Philadelphia, as well as Hill, at the Naval Observatory, are also

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keeping up fairly continuous observations for the same purpose. To settle the matter beyond doubt, the Germans sent an observer to Honolulu in 1891, to continue observations for more than a year, in order to compare the results with those derived in Europe. To give still further certainty to the conclusions, an assistant of the Coast Survey, Mr. E. D. Preston, also occupied a station in Honolulu, and made observations simultaneously with the German observer. The results left no doubt of the motion of the pole.

From a philosophic standpoint, the most important advances in our astronomical knowledge relate to the fixed stars. Here we are likely to have a case not unfamiliar in the history of scientific progress, where researches seemingly unfruitful have ultimately yielded a rich harvest, which could never have been anticipated by those who commenced them. When, a few years ago, spectrum analysis was first applied to the fixed stars, the results seemed a matter of pure curiosity, as did the experiments in electricity of Franklin, Volta, and Galvani to men of the last century. It was doubtless interesting to know, in a general way, that the most distant bodies showed the existence of elements with which we were familiar on the surface of our planet. But what interest could attach to a description of the spectra of hundreds of thousands of stars? Of what scientific value is it to know that hydrogen predominates in one star and magnesium in another, or that one is surrounded by an absorbing atmosphere and that another consists of glowing gas?

Star catalogues have been made ever since the time of Hipparchus. The thousand stars described by him have grown into hundreds of thousands. That the immense catalogues now being made by astronomers can fairly be classed under the head of useful knowledge, no one will deny. But, from a philosophic point of view, of what importance is it to know the exact positions of a hundred thousand stars, or the exact direction in which each seems to be moving? The results must apparently terminate with themselves. They go into big books, where observers of comets may look for them when they want to use them; but no one else cares to know anything about them. Now, however, there is a good prospect that two such dissimilar things as the spectroscope and the telescope will combine their forces, and show us relations likely to reward the investigator with results of universal interest.

One conclusion which is being reached is, that dark, and therefore invisible, bodies abound in the stellar spaces. Evidence is being gathered which makes it probable that a great number of stars have planets revolving around them. This fact has been brought to light by obser-

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vations of a class of variable stars, now known as Algol-variables. Readers who have interested themselves in astronomy are well aware that the star Algol, in the constellation Perseus, is ordinarily of the second magnitude; but, once in a little less than three days, it sinks to nearly the fourth magnitude for an hour or two, and then gradually regains its original brightness. The whole change takes place in five or six hours.

Careful watchers of the heavens have found a large number of stars of this same class. Their distinguishing feature is that their brightness remains constant the greater part of the time, but suffers a partial eclipse—never lasting more than a few hours—at regular intervals. That this change was due to the revolution of a dark body around the star was long ago suspected in the case of Algol, and was fairly well proved by Vogel's measurement of the motion of that star in the line of sight. The conclusion, that the variation of light in most stars of this class is due to an eclipse arising in a similar manner, seems a very natural one. Granting this, the number of stars which have planets nearly as large as themselves must be very great. A very little consideration will show that a planet cannot be seen to eclipse the star unless our system lies near the plane of the orbit. In any other case, the planet will pass above or below the star, as Mercury and Venus generally pass above or below the sun in inferior conjunction. Another obvious conclusion is, that the eclipse will not be visible to us unless the planet is much larger in proportion to the star than any of our planets are in proportion to the sun. An observer so far away that even our giant planet, Jupiter, would be invisible, would never know, by a diminution in the sun's light, that Jupiter was passing across the sun's disk, because the sun is so much larger than Jupiter that the portion of light cut off by the latter would be imperceptible to the observer.

Another consideration in this connection adds to the interest of the conclusion. Of all variable stars, these so-called Algol-variables are the hardest to detect, because, in order to recognize them, an observation must be made during the partial eclipse, and compared with observations made at other times. An observer might record the magnitude of such a star on a dozen occasions and yet never happen to strike the period of obscuration. He would, therefore, set down the star as invariable, though, in fact, a variable one. It is very largely due to the skill and industry of special observers that the number of known stars of this class has recently been considerably increased.

This combination of discovery and research makes it difficult to set

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any limit to the knowledge that we may yet acquire of the stars. Thirty—even fifteen—years ago, no project seemed more hopeless than that of detecting an invisible planet revolving round a distant star. Now, there is a fair prospect that this will be a much-cultivated branch of astronomy. If Prof. Keeler be induced to use the unrivalled outfit of the Yerkes Observatory in this direction, an epoch may be made in stellar astronomy.

The recent discovery of the companion of Procyon by Schaeberle, of the Lick Observatory, which has been confirmed by Barnard, of the Yerkes Observatory, is another remarkable step in the same direction. There are two stars of the first magnitude which were long since inferred to have companions revolving around them, because of a revolution of the visible star around an invisible centre, shown by the most refined observations of position. The time of revolution of each companion was predicted in advance from this observed motion,—that of Sirius being about fifty years, and that of Procyon about forty. The companion which caused the motion of Sirius was discovered by Alvan G. Clark as far back as 1860. Now, Schaeberle finds the satellite of Procyon also. What is noteworthy in each case is, that the mass of the satellite is out of all proportion to its brightness. In the case of Procyon, it must be about one-half that of the bright star; in the case of Sirius, perhaps one-third. Yet each satellite shines with so faint a light that it is almost obscured by the brilliancy of its primary.

Altogether it seems quite likely that systems of planets moving round the stars are the rule rather than the exception. But it does not follow that most of them have the symmetry of our solar system. The general rule seems to be that the orbits of revolving stars are much more eccentric than those of our planets. This is certainly the case with the large majority of the known double stars; and, while we cannot yet be quite sure in the case of absolutely invisible planets of distant stars, the inference is very strong that their orbits are mostly like those of the binary stars. Thus, in the case of Algol, there is a marked difference between the rate at which it loses light during an eclipse, and the rate at which the light is recovered; showing that the orbit of the eclipsing body is probably eccentric.

Yet another seemingly insoluble problem, which now seems in a fair way of solution, is that of the form and extent of the visible universe. Curious coincidences are being brought to light which lead to the hope that the question of the limits of the universe may yet be answered by the astronomer. Some of these have reference to the

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Milky Way. From the time that Galileo, pointing his telescope to the cloud-forms of the galaxy, saw that they were made up of star-dust, it has been evident that these clouds form, so to speak, the base on which the universe is constructed, and by which it must be sounded. Of the many millions of telescopic stars the large majority are in or near the Milky Way. As new methods, especially photographic ones, enable us to detect fainter and fainter stars, few stars are added in directions far away from the galaxy, while great numbers are added in the region of the galaxy. Does this mean that the universe of stars extends to infinity in the circle of the galaxy, though limited in other directions? We cannot yet answer this question with certainty; but the probabilities seem against it. We can only say that the galactic stars seem to be more distant than the others. When the photographic chart of the heavens, now being made by an association of observatories in various parts of the world, is complete, and the stars are all counted, we shall have more light on the subject.

One of the latest discoveries of the Harvard Observatory is of interest, as showing a hitherto unsuspected relation of the same sort. It is found that some sixty fixed stars show a spectrum composed of bright lines, and must therefore consist really of transparent gas, like a nebula. Of these stars all but one are not only situated in the Milky Way, but very near its central plane. The latest discovery, however, is that a number of them are found near the Magellanic Clouds, lying some thirty degrees from the Milky Way, and visible only in the southern hemisphere. These stars were observed by the Harvard Observatory branch at Arequipa, Peru.

There is a fair prospect of our being able, during the present generation, to gauge the heavens, in part at least, by a new combination of methods. It is a familiar fact to all interested in astronomical literature, that our solar system—the sun, and all the planets that course around it—is in rapid motion toward the constellation Lyra. The result is that those stars which have no proper motion of their own seem, to us, to be moving in the opposite direction. If we determine the amount of the solar motion in miles per second, we shall be able to determine the distance of any such star by the amount of its apparent motion. The best way of doing this—in fact, the only way which, in the near future, can lead to any certain result—is by spectroscopic measurement in the line of sight. The measurements of this sort on which reliance can be placed have been mostly made by a single investigator, Vogel, of Potsdam. As yet, however, they are too few in num-

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ber to lead to a very certain result. The conclusion—approximate and somewhat doubtful—so far reached is, that a large majority of the stars visible to the naked eye are situated within a sphere whose radius is twenty million times the distance of the sun, a distance which light would traverse in about three hundred years.

Great interest is felt by the intelligent public in the remarkable increase of telescopic power during the last half-century. The largest refracting telescope that had been made up to 1850 is to-day a comparatively small instrument, with which no great observatory would be satisfied. The part taken in this advance by the famous firm and family of Alvan Clark & Sons cannot be overestimated. The death, a year since, of the last male member of this family would have been an irreparable loss to science, if others had not learned the art. Their last and greatest work, the Yerkes telescope of the University of Chicago, is not likely to be surpassed in our time. It may be of interest to recall the steps which have led up to this result.

When, about 1840, the observatory at Pulkowa was inaugurated, and that of Harvard College, some four years later, the twin telescopes with which they were supplied—each nearly 15 inches in aperture—so far exceeded any others of the kind previously made that they might well have been thought to reach the attainable limit of power. Great, therefore, was the surprise when, twenty years later, the modest portrait painter of Cambridge completed one of 18 inches, which ultimately found its home in Chicago.

The first formidable rival of the Clarks appeared in the person of Thomas Cooke, of York, England, who, about 1870, completed the great Newall instrument of 25 inches. This is now in use, by the son of the original owner, at the University of Cambridge. The Clarks next undertook the twin telescopes of 26 inches aperture for the Naval Observatory, Washington, and the University of Virginia. The success of these instruments led the Russian government, in 1879, to contract with the Clarks for a yet greater glass of 30 inches diameter; Director Struve visiting this country to arrange the terms of the contract. This glass was completed in 1883, and mounted by the Repsold firm at the Pulkowa Observatory. About the same time, the Henry Brothers of Paris made a glass of the same size for the observatory presented by Mr. Bischoffsheim to the city of Nice. In 1887, the great Lick objective was completed by the Clarks for the Lick Observatory. This was the last glass worked under the direction of Alvan Clark, Sr., who died the same year. A rare touch of human interest is given to the close of his life

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by his surviving to celebrate his diamond wedding, and praying only that he might live to see the completion of the Lick glass, after which, he declared himself ready to depart in peace. Nine years later, his son and namesake completed the Yerkes glass, and died immediately after successfully installing it at the observatory on Lake Geneva, Wisconsin.

In justice to others, it must be pointed out that the art of the optician is not the only difficult one to be invoked in the making of a great telescope. Before the optician can begin his work, he must have disks of glass, both flint and crown, of the necessary size and quality. The art of making such disks is even rarer than that of polishing them into proper shape; a single succession of men having enjoyed almost a monopoly in this line since the beginning of the century. Mantois, of Paris, is the present possessor of the art, which he has carried far beyond the dreams of his predecessors.

Yet a third profession which must come into play, before the telescope is complete, is that of the engineer, who is to make the tube, the axis on which it is to turn, and the apparatus by which it may be pointed in any direction and that direction accurately determined.

It must not be supposed that the importance of the work done by a telescope is proportional to its size. Freedom of the air from currents is an essential requirement. The skill of the observer is also an element of even more importance than the size of the telescope. It was the men whom Holden gathered around him at Mount Hamilton that made the great Lick telescope really effective.

It is now becoming a question whether, by the still more sensitive retina of the photographic plate, the eye of the observer will not be reduced to a position of secondary importance. With our modern chemicals, a telescope properly constructed for the purpose will photograph what the eye cannot see. The greatest astronomical work now going on is the construction of the international photographic chart of the heavens, for which the plans were outlined at a conference held in Paris in 1887. A dozen observatories, perhaps, in the southern as well as the northern hemisphere, have engaged in the work; and several of them are rapidly pushing their task toward completion. When this work is done, all the stars bright enough to impress a negative will be depicted on some twenty-five thousand photographic plates; each star, for certainty, being taken on two plates. The total number will be many millions, quite likely a hundred millions or more. A rich field for research will thus be opened, the cultivation of which may well occupy the next two generations of astronomers. S. NEWCOMB.

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THE NEO-ROMANTIC NOVEL.

If some antiquary of the future should conceive the innocent idea of solemnly investigating the popular novels of the present era in the United States and England, it would be his duty to chronicle the fact that in the early eighties there was a marked wave of interest in novels of romantic adventure in strange lands,—those of Mr. Haggard, for example. He would also be obliged to state that a decade later, just as this interest was waning somewhat, there was a distinct revival of the thorough-going old historical romance,—the species of which Scott was the first patentee. It is the popular fondness for novels of this second sort that I propose to discuss—for the solace of my own conscience and the information of antiquaries a generation hence.

It is only a few months since Prof. Brander Matthews' dissection,[1] in The Forum, of the historical romance set many serious people to inquiring into the ethics of their personal tastes in light literature. The historical romance, he declares,—as Mr. Howells had already, in substance, declared,—is an invertebrate literary genus of a low order. It originated only in this century, when our grandfathers suddenly began to take a violent emotional interest in the hitherto despised Middle Ages. It won, for a season, a wide popularity, until it was supplanted in the esteem of the wiser public by the growth of a more sensible sort of literature,—that which, in the hands of Thackeray, Flaubert, Zola, Mr. James, Mr. Howells, and Mr. Matthews himself, deals with life as it is. Masquerading in the guise of history, this mischievous and primitive imp of romance spread mistaken conceptions of ages gone by, and encouraged a mistaken enthusiasm for ideals of conduct that have justly perished in the course of our struggle for existence. Silly notions about personal honor, a conventional, chivalric code of love, a complacently Quixotic Order of alleged nobility, before whom weak peasants and despised merchants cringed,—such injustice and folly have slowly disappeared. Mankind has cast behind it these outworn ideals, replacing them with others more just, more useful, more unselfish. Theories of cause and effect, as to the events of the past, may interest or instruct

[1] "The Historical Novel," in The Forum for September, 1897 (p. 79).

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us; but no man—save Cagliostro—has ever seen this wicked past live. How can we then hope to portray it? One may rob the grave of its bones, and give to resuscitated skeletons the semblance of life; but this mock life is really that of the present. It is, therefore, with the present—the present of actual knowledge and experience—that artists and sculptors and novelists should deal. No man can step off his own shadow, as Mr. Matthews justly remarks. The historical romance is mere mummery.

If all this be true, it would at first seem that those of us who still delight in our old favorites and our new fancies among historical romances can scarcely acquit ourselves of the charge of folly. And yet one may acknowledge every point made by Mr. Matthews and Mr. Howells, in their praiseworthy love for the new and the true, without in the least changing his literary tastes. The fact is that any sort of theory about what art or literature should do is of very slight importance in comparison with a knowledge of what it does do. Theoretical criticism is useful in the analysis of actual pleasure; but it is as nothing when weighed in the balance against what we really love. The painters are forever telling us that we are geese to like pictures with a story in them; the dramatists are forever insisting that a play which is merely good to read is no play at all; the poets, that all real sonnets must follow the Petrarchan model; the grammarians and the rhetoricians, that this or that familiar expression is incorrect. Even our histories of literature disdain the favorite reading of the people, and discuss only what appeals to the cultured classes. The attitude of all is, at bottom, dictatorial: they attempt to prescribe what we shall like,—which is as useless as to prescribe what we shall eat. Let these painters and dramatists and poets—so the simple-minded people has always said in its heart—offer us what they choose that is beautiful and interesting. So much is the privilege of the maker, the seller. But we are free to enjoy what we choose: that is the privilege of the consumer. If there is beauty we cannot see, we are glad to be reminded of it. If what we like is ugly, explain us that also, and we will look carefully to our preferences. But we, not you, are the judges of our own emotions; and by us, in the last resort, must your fine theories be tested. Art is your work; but it is our play. We have our work also, which is judged sternly by the laws of supply and demand: in our scant hours of leisure we must play as our nature bids us.

It is, then, first, as one of the rights of a citizen, that we hard-working people defend our hearty interest in the historical romance. Our

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hours of labor are filled with dull details: our tasks themselves are undiversified, special, ruled by a monotonous routine. We cannot be denied such fiction as may give us access to the stirring life of great epochs long past, when kingdoms hung on the prowess of a few; when love, honor, and fortune depended on quickness of wit and strength of arm. Those who could bring back to us something like that dead world—Scott and Dumas, and even Bulwer-Lytton and Kingsley—have not failed, through all these changing years, to hold our affections; and recent, if less permanent, successes show that the historical romance is in no danger of dying out. Theory or no theory, mankind cherishes the novel of romantic adventure in a romantic past.

In the second place, we may fairly claim something for the historical romance on the ground of the ideals and ambitions it awakens in us. The ideals of the Middle Ages, after all, were those from which modern ideals have been slowly evolved; and it is unbecoming and unnecessary to be ashamed of them. Fidelity to kinsman and friend and mistress, sensitiveness to honor, courage in the face of danger, the obstinate determination and intelligent craft that triumphed over physical odds,—these qualities have changed, in some degree, their semblance; but their substance is as precious as in the days of knightly brotherhood, of tournaments and duels. The noble friendship of the *Guardsmen* and their unconquerable strength, the constancy of *Bussy d'Amboise*, the fine craft of Henry IV,—to choose examples from Dumas only—have nerved more than one man for the dubious battle of modern life; revealing to him modern virtues through antique models, and teaching him, as if by parable, the permanent laws of the great human struggle.

Assuming, then, without further pleading, that the historical romance, however weak an instrument it may be in theory, makes in actuality a special and perhaps an abiding appeal to human intelligence and emotion, refreshing and restoring the weary spirit, I beg leave to examine some ten or a dozen of the recent romances of the sort. My intention is merely to inquire how far they satisfy our natural cravings for books of the kind I have indicated, and to hazard a guess as to whether their authors are taking the surest path to our gratitude and affection.

These novels fall at once into several classes, corresponding to the sort of effect that they produce upon us. First, the swarm of tales which depend for their interest entirely upon a clever or intricate plot,—the lowest structural form in which the historical romance can appear. Take, for example, Mr. Bloundelle-Burton's "Clash of Arms." It has no possible interest outside of its sensational plot, which is almost

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too slight to be remembered. As readers who know history through Dumas will recall, Louis XIV, at the very end of the "Vicomte de Bragelonne," sent *Madame* to England with *Louise de Querouaille;* intending the latter as a bait for Charles II. There Mr. Bloundelle-Burton takes up the story. When the French damsel determines to remain in England, a certain rascally *Vicomte de Bois-Vallée*, her lover, exasperated at her loss, kidnaps an English lady in her place, and makes off with her to his wild castle in Lorraine. The English lady's lover dies of grief; but his brother, a more valiant soul, starts on the quest of the villain and the girl. The wicked *Vicomte* escapes the avenger's hand again and again; but the invincible Englishman storms single-handed the ogre's castle, wrests from him his prize, and leaves him to die a ghastly death in a secret passage. All this smacks a trifle of the "Castle of Otranto," and serves no better purpose than to cheer one's despondency in a gloomy hour, as the veriest dime novel might.

Mr. Anthony Hope does no better in his "Simon Dale," though he treats the same period and tails even more closely after Dumas. According to his yarn, it was Louis himself who missed the maid of honor and claimed an English lady in exchange for her. He himself came to England in disguise, to complete secretly certain projects of political alliance with Charles, and, incidentally, to fetch the bartered damsel. The whole plot, however, is penetrated by an English *D'Artagnan*, who, of course, worships the lady in question, and is already marvellously deep in the intrigue of the English court. At the proper moment the hero seizes the French monarch by the throat, and rescues his beloved by force and guile. There are other personages in the play,—Charles and Nell Gwynne and the great figures of the court; there are clever situations, some fighting, not a little love-making, and much lucky stumbling on state secrets. But all this is nothing more than a mere network of adventure and intrigue, frankly imitated from the great French master.

The weak point of this whole group of novels is that, though much happens, nothing really comes of it. What if these lost maidens are heroically recovered and gratefully espouse their rescuers? Nothing but their own fortunes has been in doubt. The fate of a kingdom has not hung on a hazardous venture, as when *Athos* sought the gold in the vaults of Newcastle; or when *D'Artagnan* caged the astonished *Monk* and deposited him at Charles's feet in Holland; or when the four bold companions plotted to rescue Charles I and were thwarted only by the devilish ingenuity of *Milady's* son and avenger. What matters it whether

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some chance English girl is lost or found? The stake is nothing in comparison with that involved when the same four gentlemen match themselves against all the force and guile of the Cardinal and the King, and bring back the Queen's diamonds from Buckingham. These trivial plots do not appeal even to the intelligence: the characters have not even a personal charm. The ladies are dolls: the knights, manikins. Such novels, in which all interest is centred on the plot, cannot, in the long run, compete successfully with tales of adventure in modern times. The authors show no practical knowledge of life in the periods with which they deal, and seem to have put their stories in one century or another by sheer accident. Mr. Rider Haggard and his African tales are worth a whole library of such slipshod pseudo-mediæval fiction. The successful writer of historical romance must have seized the very heart of the epoch he treats. If through ignorance or indolence he have failed to do this, he should confine himself to the life of to-day, where, as "Soldiers of Fortune" plainly shows, there is romance enough to be found by the clever imagination.

The second class, the next higher grade, into which these novels fall so readily, is that which appeals more strongly to the emotions. Take, for instance, Mr. Crockett's "Lochinvar." The plot is simple. Again we have a kidnapped maiden and a pursuing lover. *Wat Gordon of Lochinvar*, outlawed in three kingdoms, follows his Scottish love over land and sea; rescuing her from her proud and wicked oppressor, the *Lord of Barra*, only to find her again betrayed into the designing villain's hands, until at last, as in the ballad, he gallops daringly away with her on her wedding-day. Such an artless tale scarcely commends itself to the intelligence: a child could catch the drift of it and foretell the outcome. Still, like Scott's own romantic poems, it touches the emotions. *Wat* escapes, in the most obvious fashion, from monstrous perils by land and sea. He is a mighty swordsman; and there are grim combats in strange places, by the flicker of candles in a lonely Dutch inn, in the glare of the sun on desolate dunes, desperate flights, hairbreadth escapes from whirlpools and ambuscades, and forlorn hopes by the dozen. These rash adventures lack anything like rational connection; but the very mass of them acts cumulatively on the feelings. There is no side of modern life that could possibly give us the romantic thrill that Mr. Crockett gains so easily by the trivial device of putting his story back into fighting times and among fighting people. We must be thankful for what crude pleasure he gives us; but it is necessary to stint somewhat our praise. Are we barbarians, that we

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should be fed only on slaughter? Are threats and groans and blows all that will move us? We crave some touch of romantic adventure, but this is sheer melodrama. Can we imagine ourselves laughing or crying over such child's play? It is not in this thoughtless fashion that we follow the grim pursuit of *D'Artagnan* by *Milady* and her diabolical son. It is not with grave faces that we watch *Chicot* make his perilous journeys, nor with dry eyes that we witness the death of *Porthos* or of *Bussy d'Amboise*. Dumas gives the essential elements of adventurous life in great epochs—its joy and its sorrow, its comedy and its tragedy. What Mr. Crockett offers is the mere bravado of theatrical sensationalism, steeped in schoolgirl sentiment.

We pass to a still higher type, the historical romance of character,—a natural modern outgrowth on the hoary trunk of exciting narrative. Of this we have several good recent examples. In Mr. Weyman's "Shrewsbury," a certain pitiful coward, ex-schoolmaster, and thief falls into the hands of conspirators against William III. A spy, a weak instrument for sinful ends, he sees in his dazed, craven way the stream of history flow by him, even as, a few years later, *Henry Esmond* saw a similar world with the eyes of a courageous gentleman. In Mr. McClennan's "Spanish John," a young and fiery Highlander, returned from service in foreign armies, tells in his mock memoirs of his private quarrels and of the disastrous attempt of the young Pretender,—memoirs which owe their main interest to the character of *Father O'Rourke*, an Irish priest and soldier, who took life merrily, but lived it nobly, and bravely met a gallant death. In Mr. Mason's "Lawrence Clavering," we are again "in the forty-five"; seeing history through the eyes of a silly young heir, who gets into an incomprehensible muddle with an enigmatic and hysterical lady, and blunderingly brings love and politics alike to grief,—memoirs redeemed from utter dulness only by a charming *Miss Dorothy Curwen* ("*Cherry-cheeks*"), who is all that a brave English lass should be. In Mr. Pemberton's "Queen of the Jesters," a collection of tales on a Stevensonian model, we are told of the freaks of a handful of whimsical people in the Paris of Louis XV. Finally, in Stevenson's "St. Ives," the last work of one who was, in his way, a master, we are thrust into the intimate confidences of a roistering young blade of a French count, an escaped prisoner, a woful braggart, hunted down on a charge of brutal murder, which, even by his own explanation, was not so very far from true. He falls headlong into an irrational love for a Scottish girl, and, after surprising adventures with a whole menagerie of eccentric characters, is safely ex-

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tricated from the toils of his enemies by a balloon. In all this typical group of romances the plot is trivial: it is character that plays the chief part. Like modern realists, the authors force us to contemplate the universe through the experiences of a single given temperament. But what is the value or interest of all these data? There are queer people in our own times; and if it be a close study of accidental personages that we must have, I think we should prefer to taste this dubious pleasure through the life of to-day, where we can test the analysis by comparing it with our own experience. There is nothing romantic in this minute portrayal of antique characters. We do not sigh for the jokes and whims of long ago, nor can we enjoy the mock memoirs of a coward or a fool.

Here again it is Dumas who can point to the only safe road for the romancer. His canvas is a large one. In each of his three great series he accounts for the life of an epoch as completely as Balzac might have done. But of this throng of characters all the great figures are heroic —as men and women of action always are. In romance, life must be brave and earnest: that is one of the conditions of the game. For the intimate study of whimsical individuals there is room enough in other kinds of literature: romance can never tolerate it. In that wonderful set of romances beginning with "La Reine Margot" and stopping abruptly with "Les Quarante-Cinque," Dumas introduces us to a full score of characters, almost all of whom play important parts in the narrative; but, though they are of many kinds, not a single one is inert or despicable. Each is indelibly impressed on the memory, and takes there its honorable place.

Such are some of the historical romances of the present season, as seen by one who loves those of the olden sort. It is hardly to be supposed that the product of another season or another year will be in any marked degree better or worse. These novels are, as has been shown, careless in plot, or violent in tone, or largely given over to character study. Modern realism and modern habits of analysis, on the one hand, and modern love of sensationalism, on the other, have forced authors into new habits and perhaps begotten in the public new tastes. At any rate, whatever the causes may be, two traits of modern work of this sort are especially prominent. First, it has distinctly the air of the market. These books are, as a rule, obviously made to sell. It is this that gives them their hurried air, like that of hastily built tenements. Second, even when, as is sometimes the case, they are carefully constructed, it usually appears that they are deliberately in-

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tended to suit the taste of the most important factor in the reading public of to-day—the girls and women. Scarcely one of them is free from tawdry sentimentality. They must be love stories: they must end happily. With this careless workmanship and this sentimentality, the tone and method of the best older works may be strongly contrasted. Scott and Dumas both, to be sure, wrote in breathless haste, and wrote, at times, avowedly for money. But their hearts were in their art; and their finest works seem to have been the fruit of ample leisure and unhindered fancy and meditation. At its best their workmanship was flawless. In spite of the rapidity with which incident follows incident, Dumas developed his plot slowly, with abundant illustration of character. He was not preoccupied with mere love sentiment, the girl-and-boy love of our later romancers. That finds its proper place; but there are elements far more essential to the tale of romantic adventure. The multiform aspects of man's affection for woman; the still more stirring possibilities of man's friendship, rivalry, and competition with man; the relations of political and military life,—all these he wove into the mighty web. As Shakespeare, in his historical plays, Dumas had always his eye on greater objects than the mere fortunes of a single man. In his first great series, that beginning with "La Reine Margot," it may seem at first that his object was to treat, from various points of view, the overwhelming love of man and woman—the loves of *De la Mole* and *Marguerite*, of *Henry* and *Madame de Sauve*, of *Coconnas* and the *Duchesse de Nevers*, of *Bussy d'Amboise* and *Diane de Monsoreau*, the despairing admiration of *Henri de Joyeuse* for the same unhappy lady. But, at a second or third reading, the truth stands out more clearly. What this group of volumes really treats is Henry the Fourth's long struggle for the throne. Similarly, in the series beginning with "The Three Guardsmen," the point lies, in the last analysis, in Louis the Fourteenth's mastery of his rebellious France rather than in the ever-memorable friendship of *D'Artagnan* with *Athos*, *Porthos*, and *Aramis*. Finally, in the long series beginning with "Joseph Balsamo," we are plainly following not the fortunes of any private man, but the death of the old France and the birth of the new. In all three, individuals are but signs of the many diverse forces that make up a great current of national life. How different is this sound and noble handling of great human interests from the episodic treatment of merely personal adventure!

Two recent books that may fairly be included in a group of typical historical romances I have reserved for a final paragraph, because they

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indicate material from which it is to be hoped that romancers will draw more frequently. The first is Mr. Merriman's "In the Tents of Kedar": the second is Mr. Sienkiewicz's "Hania." Mr. Merriman's plot is laid in the revolutionary Spain of sixty years ago, when a chivalrous young Irishman, fond of a fight, finds himself thrust into the very midst of Spanish political intrigue. "Hania" is a bundle of tales and sketches, not particularly remarkable in themselves, but with a strong claim on the attention of anyone who has read "Fire and Sword," the "Deluge," and "Pan Michael," the greatest historical romances of the last third of the century—perhaps the greatest of the whole century. Both books deal with comparatively new material: the one with a romantic period that has scarcely escaped from the memory of living men; the other with the yet untold struggles of chivalrous Poland against the Swedish usurpers of the north and the Tartar scourge of the south. The Englishman's choice and his success should be examples to Americans, who, since Cooper, have practically done nothing with an abundance of romantic material. We have had dozens of historical novels; but, especially of recent years, they have been too much of the "Henry Esmond" type,—novels of character rather than novels of adventure. The Polish novelist's choice and his extraordinary performance should serve as models for others—Europeans of many sorts and kinds—who find themselves in special sympathy with a past of which history has failed to give a sufficiently inspiring account.

For a century the whole civilized world has shown an extraordinary interest in the novel of adventure in a romantic past. There are no signs of a great decrease in that interest. We appreciate the subtlety, the complexity, the richness, of novels of the newer school; but we retain our affection for the works of Scott, Dumas, and the most worthy of their followers. Antiquarianism will not satisfy us, nor mere sentiment, nor sensationalism; but whoever can tell a manly tale of noble struggle in a noble cause can still find his way to our hearts.

G. R. CARPENTER.

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WRITERS IN THE MARCH FORUM.

PROF. EDWARD W. BEMIS, born in 1860, at Springfield, Mass., was graduated from Amherst in 1880 and received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in history and political economy at the Johns Hopkins University in 1885. He was in charge of economics and history at Vanderbilt University from 1888 to 1892; was associate professor at the University of Chicago during the next three years; and since last August has been professor of economic science at the State Agricultural College of Kansas, at Manhattan. Prof. Bemis has published, through the Johns Hopkins University Press, a "History of Coöperation in New England and the Middle States," and, through the Economic Association, "Municipal Ownership of Gas in the United States."

PROF. G. R. CARPENTER was graduated at Harvard College in 1886, and since 1888 has been engaged in teaching, successively, at Harvard College, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Columbia University, where he is professor of rhetoric and English composition.

MR. CLARENCE CARY, originally from Virginia, has been, for many years, at the New York bar, engaged chiefly in corporation practice. His article on "China, and Chinese Railway Concessions," in the January number of THE FORUM, attracted wide attention.

M. FELIX ALEXANDRE GUILMANT was born at Boulogne, France, in 1837, his father being an organist. The son showed early aptitude for the organ, and at sixteen was made organist of St. Joseph in his native city. In 1860 he became a pupil of Lemmens. He was appointed organist of La Trinité, Paris—a post he still holds—in 1871. He is also organist and professor of the organ at the Paris Conservatoire. M. Guilmant is recognized as the leading organist of the day. He has made concert tours through the Continent and England; and is at present making his second tour of the United States and Canada. As a composer he also ranks very high. The translation of M. Guilmant's article has been supervised by his pupil, Mr. William C. Carl.

SENATOR HERNANDO DE SOTO MONEY, of Carrollton, was born in Holmes County, Miss., in 1839. He was educated at the University of Mississippi at Oxford, Mississippi; served in the Confederate army from the beginning of the war until September 26, 1864, when he was forced to retire from the service by defective eyesight. Was elected, as a Democrat, to the House of Representatives in the Forty-fourth, Forty-fifth, Forty-sixth, Forty-seventh, Forty-eighth, Fifty-third, and Fifty-fourth Congresses. In January, 1896, was elected to the Senate for the term beginning March 4, 1899; was appointed to the Senate, October 8, 1897, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Hon. J. B. George.

SENATOR JOHN TYLER MORGAN was born at Athens, Tenn., in 1824. His parents removed in 1833 to Alabama, where he studied and practised law. He was a Presidential elector on the Breckinridge ticket in 1860, and a member of the Secession Convention in 1861. He served through the Civil War; rising to the rank of brigadier-general in the Confederate Army. After the war he resumed the practice of his profession, was elected United States Senator from Alabama in 1876, and has been reëlected to all succeeding Congresses.

PROF. SIMON NEWCOMB, the noted American astronomer and writer on political economy, was born at Wallace, Nova Scotia, in 1835. He became professor of mathematics in the United States Navy in 1861, being assigned to duty at the Naval Observatory at Washington. Since 1884 he has also held a professorship of mathematics and astronomy in Johns Hopkins University.

SENATOR FRANK D. PAVEY, a native of Ohio, is a graduate of Yale College and of the Yale Law School. He is a practising lawyer in the city of New York. Mr. Pavey was elected to the Assembly in 1894 and to the Senate in 1895. He was active in the support of measures proposed by the Committee of Seventy.

(Continued on page 12).

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MR. EDWIN J. PRINDLE was born in Washington, D. C., in 1868, and from an early age has taken a deep interest in scientific and mechanical matters. Following this inclination, his education was directed toward patent law. In 1890 he obtained the degree of mechanical engineer from the Lehigh University, at Bethlehem, Pa., and became an assistant examiner in the U. S. Patent Office, where he is still engaged. While in that office Mr. Prindle has studied law; receiving the degree of LL.M. from the National University Law School of Washington, D. C., and has been admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court.

MR. HENRY EDWARD ROOD was born in Philadelphia in 1867, and has been engaged in literary work since 1885. He spent two years in pursuing a special course of study at the New Hampshire College of Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts. Mr. Rood has been called upon to give information to several Congressional committees upon the subject of immigration.

HON. WILLIAM J. STONE was born in Madison County, Kentucky, in 1848. Until about fifteen years of age he resided on his father's farm in Madison County. He then went to Columbia, Missouri, to attend the State University at that place. In 1870 he settled in Vernon County, Missouri, and there practised law until 1884; serving a term as County Prosecutor in the interim. In 1884, he was elected to the Forty-ninth Congress, and was reëlected to the Fiftieth and Fifty-first Congresses. At the close of his third term in Congress he was elected Governor of the State of Missouri for a term of four years. At the expiration of that term he removed to the city of St. Louis, where he has since resided, actively engaged in the practice of his profession. He is now the Missouri member of the Democratic National Committee.

HON. THOMAS L. THOMPSON was born in Charleston, West Va., in 1838. He received a common-school education, and when a mere boy began to earn his living in a printing-office. When sixteen years old he went to California; and after working at his trade for a few years he established the "Petaluma Journal," the first paper published in Sonoma County. Later on he purchased the "Sonoma Democrat." He was a delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1880, and was elected Secretary of State of California in 1882; he served until 1886, when he was elected to Congress as a Democrat, being third in line of his family to serve in that capacity. He was defeated for reëlection to Congress in 1888. Mr. Thompson was appointed United States Minister to Brazil by Mr. Cleveland in his last Administration.

MR. A. SILVA WHITE is a well-known Scottish writer on geographical subjects. His principal work is "The Development of Africa." Mr. White's article in the present issue of THE FORUM is based on personal observations and researches made in Egypt. He is a fellow of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society and of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

HON. JAMES WILSON was born in Ayrshire, Scotland, in 1835. In 1852 he came to the United States and settled, with his parents, in Connecticut. In 1855 he went to Iowa, locating in Tama County, where, in 1861, he engaged in farming. Was elected to Congress in 1872 and served in the Forty-third, Forty-fourth, and Forty-eighth Congresses; in the interim between the last two serving as member of the Railway Commission. For the past six years he has been director of the Agricultural Experiment Station and professor of agriculture at the Iowa Agricultural College at Ames. He was confirmed Secretary of Agriculture on March 5, 1897.

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"Well that looks natural," said the old soldier, looking at a can of condensed milk on the breakfast table in place of ordinary milk that failed on account of the storm. "It's the Gail Borden Eagle Brand we used during the war."

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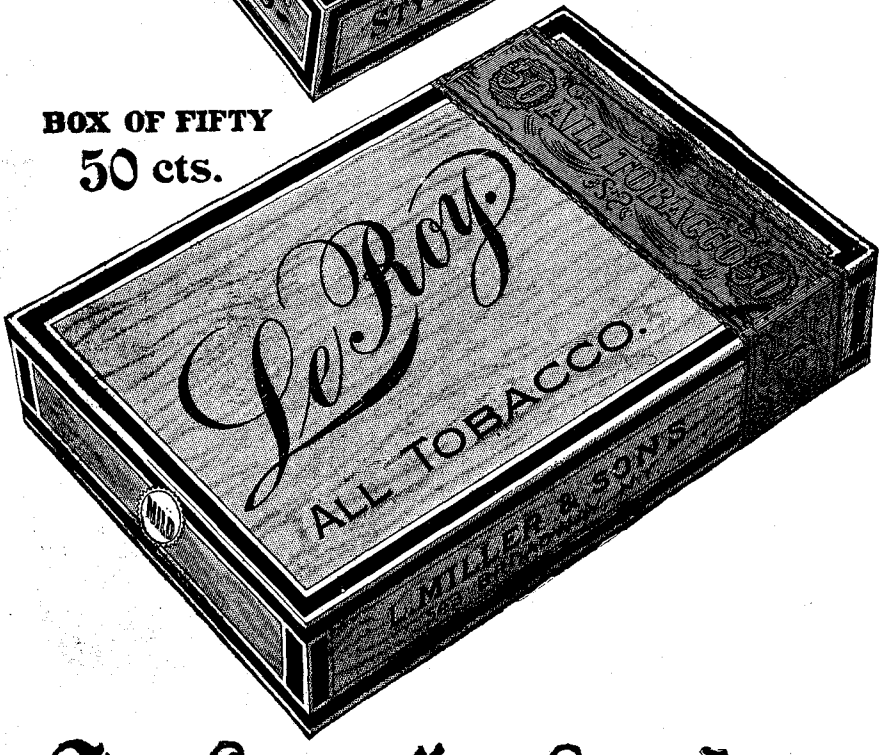
PACKETS OF TEN

10 cts.

BOX OF FIFTY

50 cts.



The Society Smoke

BOXES OF FIFTY MAILED POSTPAID UPON RECEIPT OF FIFTY CENTS.

L. MILLER AND SONS, 543 Broadway, New York, U. S. A.

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Urbana Wine Company.

GOLD SEAL CHAMPAGNES

SPECIAL DRY AND BRUT.

A perfect Wine made by the French Process.

Largely introduced among best Hotels and Clubs, and a popular Home Wine.

For Sale by all leading Grocers and Wine Merchants, at less than half the price of the Imported.

Specialty of well ripened Ports, Tokays and Catawba Wines.

URBANA WINE COMPANY,

URBANA, STEUBEN CO. NEW YORK.

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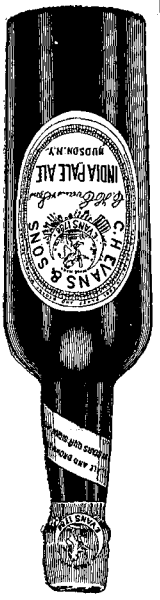
Turn it Upside Down

It wont hurt it.
There are no dregs or sediment at the bottom.
Drinkers of Evans' India Pale Ale know that and **do not hesitate to drain the bottle.**
A sensitive stomach that is nauseated with cloudy ale appreciates Evan's—**because there are no dregs or sediment.**

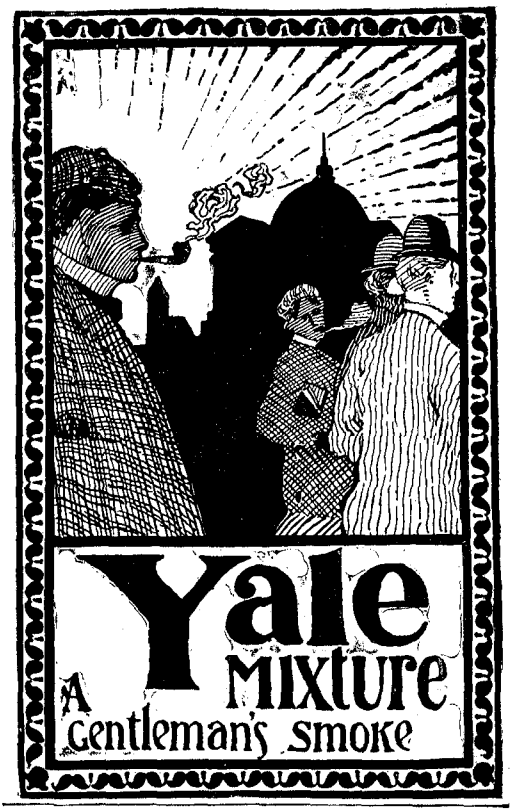


The only Ale that pours out brilliant and clear to the last drop.

CLUBS, CAFÉS, DRUGGISTS, RESTAURANTS, HOTELS AND CHOP HOUSES.

—*EVERYWHERE.*—

C. H. Evans & Sons. Established 1786.
Brewers, Malsters, and Bottlers.
Hudson, New York.



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Santa Fe Route

The Perfect Train
Newest Pullmans, Buffet-Smoking-Library Car, Through Dining Car, Pintsch Gas.

The Direct Route
2265 miles Chicago to Los Angeles.

The Shortest Time
72 hours from Chicago, 69 from St. Louis.

Apply to any Agent for detailed information.

W. J. BLACK, G. P. A. TOPEKA, KAN. — C. A. HIGGINS, A. G. P. A. CHICAGO.

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is the most popular move made by any Company in years.

TWENTY-FIVE CENTS
..TO..
ONE DOLLAR

will take you from the Grand Central Station to any point between the Battery and One Hundred and Thirtieth Street.

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THE
Mutual Life Insurance Company
OF NEW YORK

RICHARD A. McCURDY, PRESIDENT

STATEMENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31, 1897

According to the standard of the Insurance Department of the State of New York

INCOME.	
Received for Premiums	$42,693,201 99
From all other Sources	11,469,406 24
	$54,162,608 23

DISBURSEMENTS.	
To Policy-holders for Claims by Death	$13,279,630 66
To Policy-holders for Endowments, Dividends, etc.	12,712,424 76
For all other Accounts	10,132,005 57
	$36,124,060 99

ASSETS.	
United States Bonds and other Securities,	$132,017,341 45
First Lien Loans on Bond and Mortgage	69,423,937 31
Loans on Stocks and Bonds	12,880,308 00
Real Estate	21,618,454 88
Cash in Banks and Trust Companies	11,705,195 82
Accrued Interest, Net Deferred Premiums, etc.	6,141,200 20
	$253,786,437 66
Reserve for Policies and other Liabilities	218,278,243 07
Surplus	$35,508,194 59
Insurance and Annuities in force	$936,634,496 63

I have carefully examined the foregoing Statement and find the same to be correct; liabilities calculated by the Insurance Department.

CHARLES A. PRELLER, Auditor.

FROM THE SURPLUS A DIVIDEND WILL BE APPORTIONED AS USUAL.

ROBERT A. GRANNISS, VICE-PRESIDENT.

WALTER R. GILLETTE, General Manager.
ISAAC F. LLOYD, 2d Vice-President.
FREDERIC CROMWELL, Treasurer.
EMORY McCLINTOCK, Actuary.

FORTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL STATEMENT
OF THE
PHŒNIX MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY
OF HARTFORD, CONN.

JONATHAN B. BUNCE, President. **JOHN M. HOLCOMBE, Vice-President.**
CHARLES H. LAWRENCE, Secretary.

January 1, 1898.

ASSETS.

Loans on First Mortgages of Real Estate	$ 5,468,780.12
Premium Notes and Loans on Policies in force	727,159.88
Loans on Collateral	6,600.00
Real Estate owned by the Company	1,151,828.59
City and Municipal and Railroad Bonds and Stocks, Market value	2,925,672.16
Cash in office	157.03
Cash Deposited in Banks	459,526.16
Interest accrued and due	147,181.41
Net Deferred and Outstanding Premiums	172,818.49
Gross Assets, January 1, 1898	$11,054,673.34

LIABILITIES.

Reserve on Policies in force at 4 per cent. interest	$10,183,846.00	
Claims by death outstanding and notified	37,774.00	
Special Reserves and other liabilities	209,178.00	
		$10,430,798.00
Surplus at 4 per cent.		$623,875.34

Policies in force, 28,289. Increase in 1897, 2,288. Insurance in force, $46,021,069. Increase in 1897, 3,804,228. Premium income, $1,589,531. Increase in 1897, $159.303.

WILLIAM A. MOORE, Ass't Secretary.
ARCHIBALD A. WELCH, Actuary.
WILLIAM D. MORGAN, M.D., Medical Director.
GEORGE S. MILLER, Supt. of Agencies.

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34th Annual Statement

OF THE

TRAVELERS

INSURANCE COMPANY.

Chartered 1863. (Stock.) Life and Accident Insurance.

JAMES G. BATTERSON, Pres't.

Hartford, Conn., January 1, 1898.

PAID-UP CAPITAL, $1,000,000.

ASSETS.

Real Estate,	$1,994,465.31
Cash on hand and in bank,	1,355,412.89
Loans on bond and mortgage, real estate,	5,906,610.72
Interest accrued but not due,	227,730.38
Loans on collateral security,	945,400.94
Loans on this Company's Policies,	1,106,580.51
Deferred Life Premiums,	299,990.19
Prems. due and unreported on Life Policies,	228,448.75
United States Bonds,	14,000.00
State, county and Municipal Bonds,	3,612,646.78
Railroad stocks and bonds,	4,664,205.75
Bank stocks,	1,064,047.00
Other stocks and bonds,	1,449,455.00
Total Assets,	$22,868,994.16

LIABILITIES.

Reserve, 4 per cent., Life Department,	$16,650,062.00
Reserve for Re-insurance, Accident Dep't,	1,365,817.22
Present value, Instalment Life Policies.	426,288.00
Reserve for Claims resisted for Employers,	299,066.30
Losses unadjusted,	269,794.94
Life Premiums paid in advance,	25,330.58
Special Reserve for unpaid taxes, rents, etc.,	110,000.00
Total Liabilities,	$19,146,359.04
Excess Security to Policy-holders.	$3,722,635.12
Surplus to Stockholders	$2,722,635.12

STATISTICS TO DATE.

LIFE DEPARTMENT.

Life Insurance in force	$91,882,210.00
New Life Insurance written in 1897	14,507,249.00

Insurance issued under the Annuity Plan is entered at the commuted value thereof as required by law.

Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	1,235,585.39
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	13,150,350.57

ACCIDENT DEPARTMENT.

Number Accident Claims paid in 1897,	15,611
Whole number Accident Claims paid,	307,990
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897,	$1,381,906.81
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	21,210,095.96
Returned to Policy-holders in 1897	$2,617,492.20
Returned to Policy-holders since 1864,	34,360,626.53

GEORGE ELLIS, Secretary.
JOHN E. MORRIS, Ass't Secretary.
EDWARD V. PRESTON, Sup't of Agencies.
J. B. LEWIS, M.D., Surgeon and Adjuster.
SYLVESTER C. DUNHAM, Counsel.

THE ÆTNA LIFE

INSURANCE COMPANY,

Hartford, Conn.,

with Assets of over $47,000,000 and Surplus over liabilities (upon a conservative basis) of $7,000,000, has unparalleled Strength, Lowest Rates, Largest Dividends, and is the only Company in existence which has increased its Dividends to its Insured each year for the past twenty-five years. Its policy contracts are Incontestable, Non-forfeitable, and have Cash and Loan Values.

AN UNRIVALLED RECORD.

JOHN GEMMILL, a Merchant of Hartford, Conn., insured in the ÆTNA LIFE, under Policy No. 70,088, for $5,000 on the Thirty-Year Endowment Plan. The policy was taken out in 1870 (he was then thirty years of age) and will mature and become payable to the insured in the year 1900. His twenty-eight annual payments aggregate **$4,330.20.** His twenty-seven annual cash dividends amount to **$1,481.23.** The cost to date is **$2,848.97.** He has two more premiums to pay, amounting to **$309.30.** If the Company's present rate of dividends is maintained he will receive **$333.82,** or **$24.52 more than his two required annual payments,** reducing the net cost of the policy at its maturity to **$2,824.45.** He will receive in the year 1900, **$5,000, being $2,175.55 in excess of the net cost of the policy, $177.02 for each $100** paid to the Company. Other as favorable examples will be given if requested.

The ÆTNA LIFE writes every approved form of Life, Term, Endowment, and Accident Insurance.

MORGAN G. BULKELEY - President.

Address the Company or any of its Agents.

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make irritable people. A food that is nourishing and that does not cloy the appetite is

Somatose

Somatose is a *Perfect Food, Tonic* and *Restorative.* It contains the nourishing elements of meat. Prepared for *invalids* and *dyspeptics,* and those needing nourishment and a restored appetite. May be taken in water, milk, tea, coffee, wine, etc.

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PATENTS Thos. P. Simpson, Washington, D. C. No attorney's fee until patent obtained. **Write for Inventor's Guide.**

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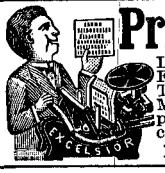

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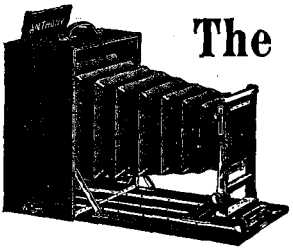

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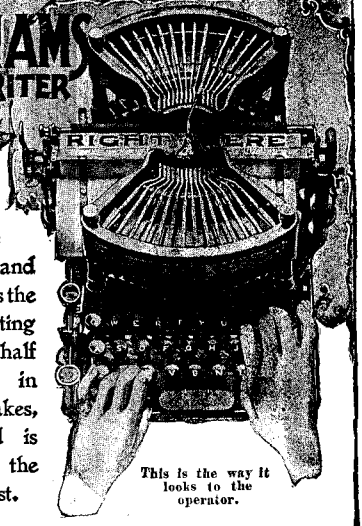

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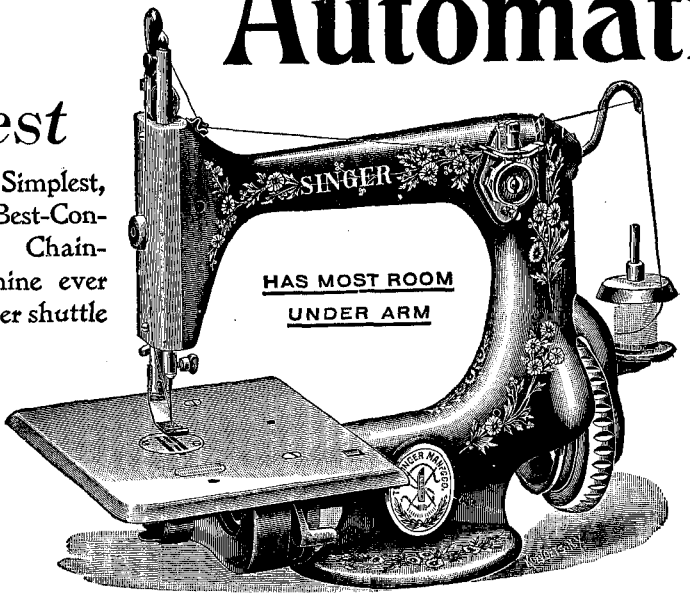

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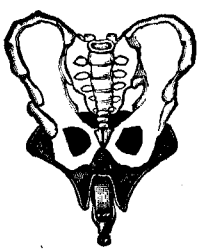

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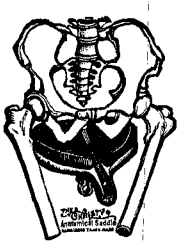

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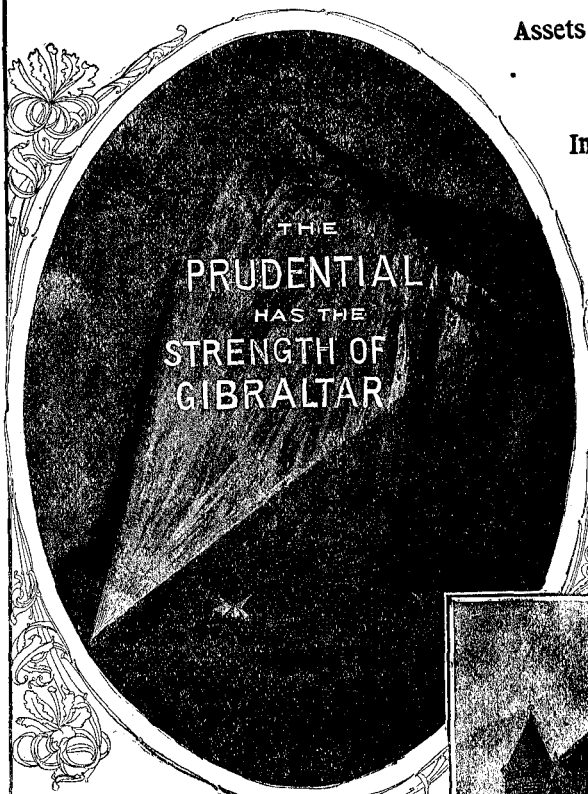

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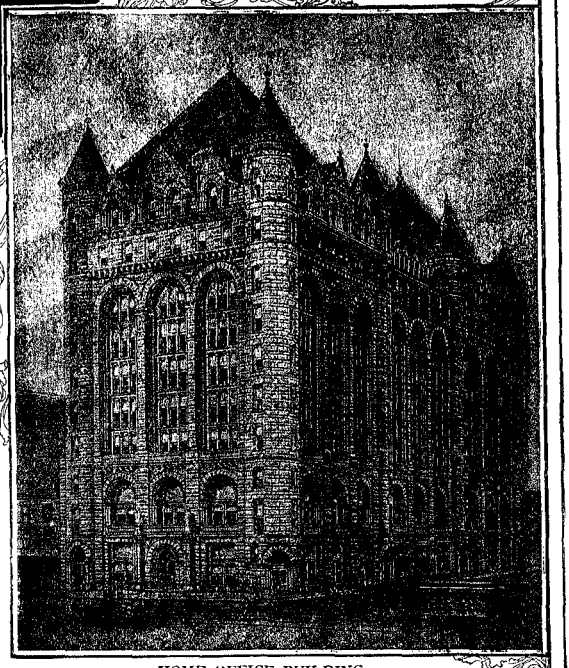

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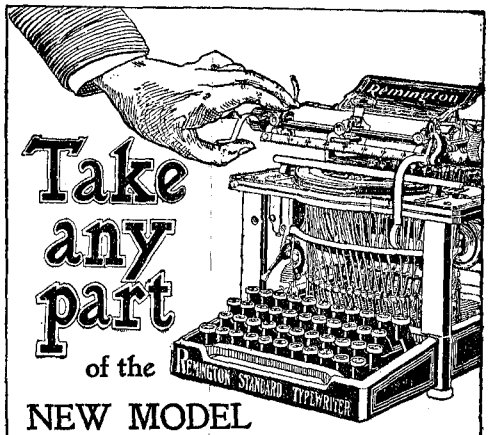

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